INTERNET

NOTES OF A VISIT TO THE RUSSIAN CHURCH

Ex Libris

Hugh Fraser Mackintosh

Toronto, Ontario.

1898

EX. LIBRIS
REV. C. W. SULLIVAN
BRAMPTON

From KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, & CO. . . . *Publishers*
1, PATERNOSTER SQUARE, LONDON.

Per Book Post.

P. XVII.

Revd Dr Bloxam D.D.
Reading Priory
Must per post

Mr Leland Mason compliments

Date 6th Nov 82

John Rouse Bloxam, obiit 1891

NOTES OF A VISIT TO THE RUSSIAN CHURCH.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY GILBERT AND RIVINGTON, LIMITED,
ST. JOHN'S SQUARE.

Hayes & Stiver, Sculp.

NOTES OF A VISIT TO THE RUSSIAN CHURCH

IN THE YEARS 1840, 1841.

BY THE LATE

WILLIAM PALMER, M.A.

Formerly Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford.

SELECTED AND ARRANGED

BY

CARDINAL NEWMAN.

LONDON:

KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH & CO., 1, PATERNOSTER SQUARE.

1882.

NOTES OF A VISIT

TO THE RUSSIAN CHURCH

IN THE YEARS 1840, 1841.

BY THE LATE

WILLIAM PALMER, M.A.

Formerly Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford.

SELECTED AND ARRANGED

BY

CARDINAL NEWMAN.

LONDON:

KEGAN PAUL TRENCH & CO., 1, PATERNOSTER SQUARE.

1882.

PREFATORY NOTICE.

William Palmer, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, eldest son of the Rev. William Jocelyn Palmer, Rector of Mixbury, and brother of Lord Chancellor Selborne, the Rev. George Horsley Palmer, and Archdeacon Palmer of Oxford, was one of those earnest-minded and devout men, forty years since, who, deeply convinced of the great truth that our Lord had instituted, and still acknowledges and protects, a visible Church—one, individual, and integral—Catholic, as spread over the earth, Apostolic as co-eval with the Apostles of Christ, and Holy, as being the dispenser of His Word and Sacraments—considered it at present to exist in three main branches, or rather in a triple presence, the Latin, the Greek, and the Anglican,

these three being one and the same Church, distinguishable from each other only by secondary, fortuitous, and local, though important, characteristics. And, whereas the whole Church in its fulness was, as they believed, at once and severally Anglican, Greek, and Latin, so in turn each one of those three was the whole Church; whence it followed that, whenever any one of the three was present, the other two, by the nature of the case, were absent, and therefore the three could not have direct relations with each other, as if they were three substantive bodies, there being no real difference between them except the external accident of place. Moreover since, as has been said, on a given territory, there could not be more than one of the three, it followed that Christians generally, wherever they were, were bound to recognize, and had a claim to be recognized by, that one, ceasing to belong to the Anglican Church, as Anglican, when they were at Rome, and ignoring Rome as Rome, when they found themselves at

Moscow. Lastly, not to acknowledge this inevitable outcome of the initial idea of the Church, viz., that it was both everywhere and one, was bad logic, and to act in opposition to it was nothing short of setting up altar against altar, that is, the hideous sin of schism, and a sacrilege.

This I conceive to be the formal teaching of Anglicanism; this is what we held and professed in Oxford forty years ago; this is what Mr. Palmer intensely believed and energetically acted on when he went to Russia. It was his motive-cause for going there; for he hoped to obtain from the Imperial Synod such a recognition of his right to the Greco-Russian Sacraments, as would be an irrefragable proof that the doctrine of the Anglican divines was no mere theory, and that an Anglican Christian was *ipso facto* an Oriental Orthodox also.

How Mr. Palmer's appeal for such a recognition of our "Anglo-Catholicism" was met by the ecclesiastical authorities of Petersburg is the main

subject of this volume, though not the main object of its publication. It is published for the vivid picture it presents to us, for better or for worse, of the Russian Church, gained, as it was, without effort by the author's intercourse with priests and laymen, and with the population generally. As might be expected, they disallowed his claim; but, what was hardly to be expected, they felt no sympathy for his conception of the Church of Christ, in its necessary unity, which, even if novel and strange, could not have been altogether new to them, as being at least part of that ancient teaching which they so proudly claimed as their own peculiar prerogative.

Mr. Palmer demanded communion, not as a favour, but as a right; not as if on his part a gratuitous act, but as his simple duty; not in order to become a Catholic, but because he was a Catholic already. Now, if in refusing him they had confined themselves to the reason which they did also give, that, till he anathematized the Anglican

Articles, they could not be sure he was not a Lutheran or a Calvinist, they would at least have been intelligible; or, if they had simply urged, as they also did, that they could not commit themselves to new precedents for the case of an individual, and that Synods must meet, and formal correspondence ensue, and authoritative canons pass, on the part both of Russia and England, before any acts of communion could take place, that too was a prudent and sensible course, and would give hopes for the future; but, instead of keeping to ground so clear and so easily maintained, some of their highest prelates and officials go out of their way to deny altogether, or at least to ignore, the Catholicity of the Church as recognized in the Creed, as if their own time-honoured communion was but a revival of the ancient Donatists. They say virtually, even if not expressly, "We know nothing about Unity, nothing about Catholicity; it is no term of ours it had indeed a meaning once, it has

none now. Our Church is not Catholic, it is Holy and Orthodox; also, (because it came from the East, whence Divine Truth has ever issued,) it is Oriental. We know of no true Church besides our own. We are the only Church in the world. The Latins are heretics, or all but heretics; you are worse; we do not even know your name. There is no true Christianity in the world except in Russia, Greece, and the Levant; and, as to the Greeks, many as they are, after all they are a poor lot."

Let me not be supposed to impute to those distinguished personages any discourtesy, whether of language or of conduct, in their intercourse with Mr. Palmer. They gave him a welcome, which, considering how little they could at first understand his motives in coming among them, tells altogether in their favour; they listened to him with interest and earnestness, and, though political reasons were doubtless on the side of their being courteous to an Englishman, they

were, as if by nature and habit, as frank and communicative in their conversations with him, as he was on his part with them. In consequence of this mutual good understanding, Mr. Palmer made many friends in Russia, and had no reason to regret his going there. He liked the people and country, and returned there again and again; and, though he failed from first to last in the direct object which started him on these expeditions, yet labours such as his, so Christian in their aim, so disinterested and self-sacrificing in their circumstances, are, in a religious point of view, never wasted, never lost. Mr. Palmer's earnest witness to the divine promise that the Christian Church, unlike the Jewish, should be spread all over the earth as Catholic and Ecumenical (however defective was his conception, as an Anglican, of its unity), had from the first its measure of success in Russia, and that success, whether greater or less, would of necessity tell upon the theological schools;

moreover it would be the more important because it took place at a time when the so-called Tractarians had, independently of him, been inculcating the same great truth on their own people in England. It is no wonder then, that, struck by this coincidence, there were those in both countries who listened to a preaching which (as far as it proclaimed the Unity and the Catholicity of the Church,) was as primitive as it was out of date, and were led on in consequence to imagine, if not to contemplate, such a union in doctrine and worship of their respective Churches as would go far towards fulfilling the idea of a Catholic communion.

I have no temptation, and am in no danger, of committing myself to extravagant or over-sanguine speculations in such a matter. Here I agree with Mr. Wallace in his instructive and interesting work on Russia; a real and effectual union at this time is a simple *chimera*. "Of late years," he says, "there has been a good deal of

vague talk about a possible union of the Russian and Anglican Churches. If by 'union' is meant, simply, union in the bonds of brotherly love, there can be of course no objection to any amount of *pia desideria;* but, if anything more real and practical is intended, I may warn simple-minded, well-meaning people that the project is an absurdity," vol. ii. pp. 194, 195. Of course I do not sympathize in the tone of this passage; after all, *pia desideria* are not bad things, though nothing comes of them,—at least though nothing comes of them at once; however, as to the future, I am bound to ask all "men of good will," who pray for peace and unity, whether here or in the North, to ponder the words of a leading Russian authority introduced into this volume, to the effect that, "if England would approach the Russian Church with a view to an ecclesiastical union, she must do so through the medium of her legitimate Patriarch, the Bishop of Rome."

So much on the contents of this volume, which I have brought together and put into shape, to the best of my power, out of the materials and according to the evident intentions of Mr. Palmer, and, I should add, with the valuable assistance of the Rev. Father Eaglesim of this Oratory. I need hardly say I have no acquaintance with the Russian language, a condition, if not necessary, at least desirable, for my present undertaking; but I have been called to it, as a religious duty, in the following way:—I had often heard speak of Mr. Palmer's journals of foreign travel at the date when they were written; and years after, when he was wont to pay me an annual visit here in the summer or autumn, the only seasons in which the English climate was possible to him, I used to urge upon him their publication. But he never gave me any hopes of it, and I ceased to trouble him on the subject. After a time his spells of serious indisposition became so frequent, that when we took leave of each other,

it was on my part with the sad feeling that I was bidding him a last farewell. At length the end came, in 1879, just before I, in turn, was to have been his guest at Rome; and then I found to my surprise that, so far from passing over my wish about his journals, he had by will left me all his papers. This is how he answered my importunity, showing a loving confidence in me, though involving me in an anxious responsibility. Of course he did not anticipate that at my advanced age I could myself do much; but it will be a true satisfaction to me, if, as I am sanguine enough to expect, this volume, illustrative of his first visit to Russia, should prove interesting and useful generally to Christian readers.

I will say one word more:—I cannot disguise from myself that to common observers, Mr. Palmer was a man difficult to understand. No casual, nay, no mere acquaintance would have suspected what keen affections and what ener-

getic enthusiasm lived under a grave, unimpassioned, and almost formal demeanour. To unsympathetic or hostile visitors he was careless to defend, or even to explain, himself or his sayings and doings; and he let such men go away, indifferent what they might report or think of him. They would have been surprised to find that what in conversation they might think a paradox or conceit in him, was, whether a truth or an error, the deep sentiment and belief of a soul set upon realities and actuated by a severe conscientiousness. But, whatever might be the criticisms of those who saw him casually, no one who saw him much could be insensible to his many and winning virtues; to his simplicity, to his unselfishness, to his gentleness and patience, to his singular meekness, to his zeal for the Truth, and his honesty, whether in seeking or in defending it; and to his calmness and cheerfulness in pain, perplexity, and disappointment. However, I do not pretend to draw his character;

apart from all personal attributes, he was to me a true and loyal friend, and his memory is very dear to me. J. H. N.

BIRMINGHAM, *Easter*, 1882.

P.S.—I add a notice of the principal dates of Mr. Palmer's life, taken from Dr. Bloxam's Register of Members of Magdalen College.

William Palmer, 1811, July 12th, born.
" " 1823, went to Rugby School.
" " 1826, matriculated at Magdalen College.
" " 1830, University (Chancellor's) Prize for Latin Verse.
" " 1830, First Class in Classics.
" " 1833, University (Chancellor's) Prize for Latin Essay.
" " 1833-36, Tutor at the University of Durham.
" " 1837-39, University (Oxford) Examiner.
" " 1838-43, College (Magdalen) Tutor.
" " 1855, received into the Catholic Church.
" " 1879, April 5th, died at Rome.

While this volume was passing through the press, I was grieved to read in the public prints a notice of the death of Mr. Blackmore, whose name occurs so often in it. He had taken a warm interest in my work, kindly aided me as he only could, and looked forward to its perusal, when finished, as recalling various pleasant memories of a valued friend.

Dr Bloxam had been J H N's curate at Littlemore.

CONTENTS.

CHAP.		PAGE
I.	Mr. Palmer contemplates a visit to Russia	1
II.	Dr. Routh sanctions the project	6
III.	Difficulties with Magdalen College	11
IV.	Difficulties with the Primate	16
V.	Mr. Palmer on his way to Petersburg	20
VI.	He arrives at Petersburg	23
VII.	His first walk in Petersburg	31
VIII.	The Kazan Church	37
IX.	Table-talk at the lodging-house	43
X.	Table and other talk	48
XI.	Mr. Blackmore's illustrative anecdotes	53
XII.	Mr. Blackmore's translations, chiefly as bearing on the Uniats	62
XIII.	Official documents published with a view to the Uniat movement	67
XIV.	Further illustrative remarks by Mr. Blackmore	73
XV.	M. Baranoff's anecdotes	78
XVI.	The Greek Liturgy	84
XVII.	The commencement of controversy	88
XVIII.	St. Metrophanes	91
XIX.	His claim and title to canonization	96
XX.	The Russian Saints viewed in their recognition of the Most Holy Synod	100
XXI.	Ancient Rite of Coronation	106
XXII.	Modern Rite of Coronation	110
XXIII.	Preliminary interview with Count Pratasoff	115

CHAP.		PAGE
XXIV.	Issue of the interview—Mr. Palmer's letter for the Emperor	121
XXV.	M. Mouravieff and the Archpriest	130
XXVI.	Prince Alexander Galitsin, Master of Requests	137
XXVII.	Mr. Palmer's first controversial discussion with the Archpriest: the Divine Procession	140
XXVIII.	Discussion continued: Transubstantiation, Mass, and Icons	145
XXIX.	The Archpriest's view of Mr. Palmer's position and appeal	156
XXX.	Conversations with M. Mouravieff	160
XXXI.	Interview with Count Pratasoff.	169
XXXII.	Conversation with the Priest Malloff	174
XXXIII.	Interview with Count Pratasoff.	179
XXXIV.	Visit of some days to the Sergiefsky Monastery; the Anniversary Service	183
XXXV.	The dinner of the festival.	189
XXXVI.	Conversation with the Archimandrite	194
XXXVII.	Reminiscences of the Sergiefsky monks	199
XXXVIII.	Reminiscences continued	205
XXXIX.	Reminiscences continued	211
XL.	Reminiscences continued	216
XLI.	Return to Petersburg with one of the Sergiefsky monks	221
XLII.	Conversation with M. Mouravieff	225
XLIII.	Conversations with M. Mouravieff, M. Skreepitsin, and the Priest Stratelatoff	229
XLIV.	Polemical attack on Mr. Palmer by a Russian lady	233
XLV.	Second discussion with the Archpriest	237
XLVI.	Conversation with the Priest Pafsky.	241
XLVII.	Conversation with the Priest Sidonsky	247
XLVIII.	Dinner at Admiral Rikard's	252
XLIX.	The Emperor inquires after Mr. Palmer	254

CHAP. PAGE

L. Interview with Princess Potemkin and Prince Galitsin 257
LI. Third discussion with Archpriest . . . 263
LII. Discussion continued 267
LIII. Conversation with diverse Priests and Laymen . 272
LIV. Interview with Count Pratasoff 276
LV. The Archpriest's final judgment on the Anglican view of the Eucharist 280
LVI. Conversations with the Rector of the Academy, M. Voitsechovich, and Prince Meshchersky . 283
LVII. Mr. Palmer moves to the Priest Fortunatoff's . 286
LVIII. Prince Michael, Mde. Potemkin's cousin . . 291
LIX. Snow and ice. Winter begun 294
LX. History and training of a secular priest . . 296
LXI. Course of studies &c. at the Spiritual Academy . 299
LXII. Visit to the Academy 303
LXIII. The Princess Sophia Galitsin 306
LXIV. The Archimandrites Palladius and Athanasius, and a Priest of the Academy 309
LXV. M. Fortunatoff's deliverances 312
LXVI. His deliverances continued 317
LXVII. M. Fortunatoff on the Sacraments . . . 320
LXVIII. The same on the Church's development. His views continued 325
LXIX. Dinner at the Potemkins—Fasts and church services 329
LXX. Conversation with the Priest Raichofsky . . 332
LXXI. Church Plate, Books, and Vestments. Income of Priests 336
LXXII. Church music 342
LXXIII. John Veniamineff, missionary to the Aleoutines . 344
LXXIV. Mr. Palmer is presented to the Metropolitan of Moscow 349
LXXV. His letter to the President of Magdalen . . 359

CHAP.		PAGE
LXXVI.	Reconciliation to the Church, and marriage to Alexander, of the Princess of Darmstadt	361
LXXVII.	Conversation with M. Mouravieff	364
LXXVIII.	M. Fortunatoff on Transubstantiation	369
LXXIX.	Various Notabilities at the Synod House	372
LXXX.	Conversations with the Princess Dolgorouky	374
LXXXI.	Conversations with M. Mouravieff, the Bishop Veniaminoff, and M. Serbinovich.	380
LXXXII.	The Count suggests, that since the Russian Church cannot go to Mr. Palmer, he should go to the Russian Church	385
LXXXIII.	Princess Eudoxia Galitsin on Russian Dissenters	389
LXXXIV.	The Metropolitan Philaret's definitive judgment upon the XXXIX. Articles.	395
LXXXV.	The Princess Dolgorouky on the Russian peasantry	397
LXXXVI.	Whether nationality is the religious need of Russia.	402
LXXXVII.	Mr. Palmer falls ill.	404
LXXXVIII.	Count Capo d'Istria	405
LXXXIX.	Mr. Palmer's Formal Appeal to the Metropolitan of Moscow	406
XC.	The danger of Liberalism in religion	408
XCI.	Baptism of Jewish Children	410
XCII.	The French and British Ambassadors on the Anglican Church.	413
XCIII.	Formal Answer of the Metropolitan of Moscow	415
XCIV.	Mr. Palmer leaves Petersburg for Moscow	416
XCV.	The Grand Duke Alexander and his Bride, and the Townspeople and Villagers	420
XCVI.	First view of Moscow	425
XCVII.	The Cathedral of the Assumption	431
XCVIII.	The Patriarchal Hall and Vestry	436
XCIX.	The Patriarchal Library	441

CHAP. PAGE

C. Other Treasures of the Patriarchal and other Churches. 443
CI. The Emperor, with his Son and Heir and Daughter-in-Law 445
CII. The Choudoff Monastery 447
CIII. St. Sergius 449
CIV. Visit to the Troitsa Lavra 452
CV. The Feast of the Holy Trinity. The Trinity Church. The Anniversary Service . . . 457
CVI. Dinner of the Troitsa Festival 463
CVII. Library of the Academy, and the Theological Professor 468
CVIII. Visit to Platon's Monastery and Sergius's Tomb. 471
CIX. The Troitsa Vestry, and lodgings of the Metropolitan of Moscow 475
CX. Conversation with the Archimandrite-Rector, Philaret 477
CXI. The Abbess Tchoutchkoff 478
CXII. Subsequent History of the Archimandrite-Rector. 480
CXIII. Mr. Palmer's discussion with the Archimandrite-Rector about Invocation of Saints . . . 486
CXIV. Discussion continued 490
CXV. Mr. Palmer's reflections on his discussion with the Rector, and return to Moscow 495
CXVI. His polemical encounter with the Princess Meshchersky 498
CXVII. Encounter with the Princess continued. . . 504
CXVIII. Conflict with the Princess renewed . . . 510
CXIX. The Jesuit Fathers and the Bible Society . . 513
CXX. Success in Russia, and Expulsion thence, of the Jesuit Fathers. 517
CXXI. Success in Russia, and Expulsion thence, of the Bible Society 521
CXXII. Visit to New Jerusalem 524

CHAP. PAGE

CXXIII. Farewell interview with the Metropolitan and the Princess 527

CXXIV. Return to Petersburg—Conversations with Priests Vasili and Stratelatoff. . . . 530

CXXV. Visit to M. and Mde. Potemkin at Gortilitsa . 533

CXXVI. Religious discussions at Gortilitsa . . . 536

CXXVII. Last conversations and partings with Prince Michael, and with the Archpriest Koutnevich. 541

CXXVIII. Last conversation and parting with M. Skreepitsin. 546

CXXIX. Parting with the Priest Fortunatoff . . . 549

CXXX. Last conversation and parting with Count Pratasoff—Last words with M. Mouravieff and M. Skreepitsin 551

CXXXI. Return to England and Oxford 555

APPENDIX 557

CHAPTER I.

Mr. Palmer contemplates a visit to Russia.

ON Whit-Tuesday, May 21, A.D. 1839, when the Grand Duke Alexander of Russia came with the Duke of Wellington, our Chancellor, to Oxford, I, being then one of the Public Examiners, was invited to meet him; and I presented to him in Brasenose College library a petition written in French, of which the following is a slightly abridged translation, as I showed it for criticism to Dr. Routh, our President, some words being omitted at his suggestion, as noted in their respective places:—

"Though it may seem presumptuous, I venture to present a petition to your Imperial Highness.

"It is this: to obtain that there be sent hither some Russian ecclesiastic, capable of examining the theology of our churches. He could live in Magdalen College (I am authorized to say this), and I would myself teach him English, that so through him the contents of some of our best books may be made known to His Imperial

Majesty and to the Bishops of the Eastern Communion. And, if, after a time, I should go to Russia, to study there the theology and the ritual of the Russian Church, I hope that I may obtain your Imperial Highness's protection. Assuredly, if the whole Catholic Church ought to aspire after unity, nothing can be more worthy of the piety of a great prince, than to seek to facilitate the reunion of two Communions, separated only by misunderstandings and want of intercourse.

"While the Catholic Church of England"—

Here the President, when I showed it to him, interposed: "Leave out the word 'Catholic,' sir; it will not be understood."

"While the Church of England constantly defends the rights of Christian Sovereigns, invaded equally by the ambition of the Roman Pontiff and by democratical licentiousness, she is herself at present in great danger, isolated in a corner of the West, unsupported by the Civil Government and"—

"I would leave that out, sir."

"In a corner of the West, and threatened by the hatred of all the Protestant sects"—

"Leave out the word 'Protestant'"—

"Of all the sects, which have leagued with schismatical Papists to overthrow her.

"If your Imperial Highness will be pleased to

favour our studies,[1] and to take an interest in the distress of our Churches, it will be doing a benefit to the cause of social order, of submission and humility in the West; and at the same time, by facilitating the union of the Churches, your Imperial Highness will gladden all those who pray for the peace of Christendom.

"May God bless the throne of the Emperor of Russia, and may all the peoples committed to him obey him as a father. May he never see the anarchical principles of heretical Protestantism coming to disturb his Empire and its churches; and may it be given to him, on the occurrence of some just opportunity, to deliver the East from the yoke of the Infidels."

"I would leave out this last sentence, sir," said Dr. Routh; "the first clause will not be understood, and the second will seem un-English."

"In conclusion I again beg your Imperial Highness to pardon," &c., &c.

Being at this time one of the college tutors at Magdalen, and having to lecture on the Thirty-nine Articles, I began a Treatise on them for the use of my pupils,

[1] [It was, I think, a few years after the date of this petition, that the report was circulated in Oxford that the Czar had proposed to found in the University a Professorship of Russ, but that nothing came of it in consequence of his stipulating that the appointment of professor should rest with him.]

intending to make it very different from the comments of Tomlin, Burnet, and Beveridge. What I wrote might be called an "Introduction" to them, and I wrote it at the end of 1839 and the beginning of 1840.[2] It was in Latin, and read and approved by Dr. Routh, who at the same time suggested a number of slight alterations.

The President passed over without remark what he found written about the *Filioque*, and he especially commended what I said about Transubstantiation; at the same time he had marked a passage, in which I said of the Anglican Liturgy, that in it, notwithstanding those changes by which it now differs from the Roman, "the mystical Lamb is still truly immolated, and a sacrifice is offered propitiatory for the quick and for the dead." Turning to his mark at this page, and pointing with his finger to the passage, he asked, "What do you say to the Article, sir?" I replied, "Since this is certainly the doctrine of the Fathers, with which the English Canon of A.D. 1571 required

[2] [Of this Latin work very few copies remain. The one I possess I owe to the kindness of Archdeacon Palmer. It is remarkable that, though the spirit and drift of Mr. Palmer's work is the same as that of No. 90 of the "Tracts for the Times," he wrote his essay a year before that tract, and I never even heard of the existence of his essay till his papers came into my hands in 1879, after his death. I knew him only as a distant acquaintance till the end of 1841.]

all preachers to agree,[3] and with which it asserts the Thirty-nine Articles themselves to agree, exacting subscription to them on no other ground, they *must*, I suppose, be explained, and I think they may fairly be explained, so as to agree with the known sense of the Fathers and of the Church, even if in any places they are suspiciously or ambiguously worded." He repeated, "I say nothing about the *doctrine*, sir, but what do *you* say to the *Article?*"

On another occasion, not in connexion with my Essay on the Articles, he asked me, "Do the Greeks and Russians hold the tradition of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin in the Body?" and he added, "I doubt much, sir, whether *that* was an Apostolical Tradition. The Orientals have another tradition which looks much more like one, viz., that of the Perpetual Virginity; and again another, forbidding clerks in holy orders to marry after Ordination. Controversy apart, sir, it must be admitted that the Protestants have gone much too far on that subject. There is no autho-

[3] [It seems as if down to the year 1663 this canon was in force. *Vide* Mr. Hope Scott's Life. He writes in 1838 to a friend, that he had found some of the testimonials given by Merton College to a candidate for orders, which attest that the individual in question "nihil unquam, quod sciamus, aut credidit, aut tenuit nisi quod ex doctrina V. ac N. Testamenti Catholici Patres ac veteres Episcopi collegerunt, nisi quod etiam ecclesia Anglicana probat et tuetur."]

rity for bishops, priests, and deacons marrying after Ordination, nor was it allowed in the primitive Church even before the Council of Nice, as appears from the Apostolical [4] canons, which represent in general the discipline in force throughout the world in the second century." [5]

My Latin Introduction to the Thirty-nine Articles was printed, without being published, in the summer of A.D. 1840, in order that I might have copies of it to take with me to Russia.

[4] ["The Greek Church, as well as the Latin accepted the principle, that whoever had taken holy orders before marriage, ought not to be married afterwards," Hefele, Counc., ii. 2, § 43. "Non licere autem illis post ordinationem, si uxores non habent, matrimonium contrahere," Apost. Const. vii. 17.]

[5] [As Dr. Routh was himself married, I would understand him here merely as conceding the force of an *argumentum ad hominem* as urged against the Protestant objection to the doctrine of the Blessed Virgin's Assumption; for if there is no early tradition for it, neither is there any tradition for, or rather there is an explicit or implicit tradition against, the marriage of persons in holy orders.]

CHAPTER II.

Dr. Routh sanctions the project.

DR. ROUTH, President of Magdalen College, who allowed me so familiarly to consult him, died in 1855, when he was in his hundredth year. He was full of information about the Revolution of 1688, almost as if he had lived at that time, and he was once much amused by a young man's asking him whether it was not true that he had seen Charles the Second. He answered laughingly, "No, sir, but I have seen a lady whose mother *had* seen Charles the Second." Charles, he used to say, kept himself in the saddle, because he knew more than those about him; James lost his throne because he knew less, and was kept in ignorance of the truth by those about him, and induced by them of set purpose to do what they knew would render him unpopular. He was the most ill-used man in his dominion.

Dr. Routh, however, was not, as any one born in our century might have supposed at first from his

conversation, a representative of the old Jacobites and the old Tories, and of those Nonjuring Divines who were ejected from their benefices after the Revolution of 1688. On the contrary, he was a Whig of the old school, and a friend of Sir Francis Burdett.

Speaking of Sir Francis, he said that he was no mischievous agitator, nor traitor, nor revolutionist, but that there had been great abuses and great corruption, against which he contended in such way as he could.

And, speaking generally, the rights of the people and the supremacy of the people, when advocated by certain great families, did not (he considered) mean all that was imputed by opponents, but only so much as might be necessary from time to time to serve the interest of the party, which was really oligarchical. As time has gone on, the two great parties have more than once shifted their ground, the Tories having at length transferred their allegiance and their ideal loyalty to the House of Hanover, and having taken up the political standing of the original Whigs, and the Whigs having become more and more liberal. The old and true maxim was, that the king could do no wrong; that is, that, if he did any wrong, the minister, or other person who did it for him, could be accused, tried, and punished in the king's name; but now the maxim is that the king can do nothing at all, neither wrong nor right, but all is to be done for him by the

man who has the ear of the House of Commons. But what is called the Cabinet and the office of Prime Minister is a super-fœtation entirely unknown to the Constitution. "As things are now," he sometimes said, "the Government may be called a disguised or veiled republic; and I think, sir," (this was after the Reform Bill), "that I see an intention, or at least a tendency, to make it an undisguised republic."

He thought that we should very likely have civil war over again; and in a handsome new church built by his sister at Theale, near Reading, he made a duplicate inscription in memory of her as foundress, saying that thus, "when the old times came over again, and they take the brass to make brass cannon, there would hereby still remain a memorial of his sister."

Explaining the difference between the Tories and the Whigs, he said that according to the Tories, one is to render to the king at least passive obedience; even if he takes one's money or property arbitrarily, one may not resist him; "but for myself," he said, "if any man, be he who he may,—King, Lords, or Commons, or all of them together,—attempted to take my money unjustly, I'd resist him, sir, if I could," (taking me by the button), "I'd resist him."[1]

[1] [Mr. Palmer was very successful in his imitation of Dr. Routh's manner. It is necessary to have known the latter to enter fully into these and the following striking reminiscences of him.]

July 4, 1840.—Having obtained Dr. Routh's approbation of my plan of going to Russia, I consulted him further, whether, while living in Russia (I wished to go to Kieff, as the cradle of Russian Christianity), I ought voluntarily to separate myself from the Russian Church, or rather seek the communion from the local Bishop. He approved of my rather seeking the communion, saying also at the same time, "It will lead to nothing, I fear, sir, for a separation there unhappily is; but it will show that there are some among us who wish it were otherwise." He added that he was not aware that we had ever by any public or synodical act renounced the communion of the Eastern Church, or that our churches had ever been excommunicated by name by the Eastern. And towards the end of the reign of Peter the Great, there was a correspondence between certain of the nonjuring British Bishops and the Greek Patriarch, which was carried on through the Russian Synod with the knowledge and favour of Peter; and, even after the Greek Patriarch had sent an ultimatum, closing the correspondence, Peter caused the Russian Synod to write desiring that it might be continued. But at his death, in 1725, it was dropped.

EX. LIBRIS
REV. C. W. SULLIVAN
BRAMPTON

CHAPTER III.

Difficulties with Magdalen College.

DR. ROUTH offered to propose at a college meeting that the Society (i.e. the college), should give me a letter of recommendation, a form for which he bade me draw up in Latin; and this, after he had altered it to his mind, he caused to be engrossed on parchment. But on Monday, July 27, when at the college meeting this letter was read, and the President proposed that the college seal should be set to it, one of the Fellows, Mr. Sibthorpe, rose, and in a tone of excitement said, "I protest, Mr. President, I protest against this Society giving any encouragement to the idea of intercommunion with the *idolatrous* Greek Church." And the Vice-President, with one or two others, having joined in his opposition, the President, saying with a smile, "Unity, gentlemen, is very desirable," put the parchment aside, and was proceeding to other business, when one of the objectors suggested that the college should give me instead a

certificate of leave of absence for purposes of study in Russia, and this was done.

The same day, after the meeting, the President sent for me to his house, and said, "I should be sorry, sir, that you should go to Russia with only that meagre document, i.e. the certificate; and, though I did not think it desirable to press the matter at the meeting, unless it could be done with unanimity, there is nothing to prevent *my* giving you, in my own name, any letter I please." And, so saying, he gave me back the parchment which had been read at the College meeting with some abbreviations and alterations marked upon it, that I might get it engrossed afresh; after which he would send it after me by the post to London.

"I think, sir," he said, "that I could find precedents for what I am doing, but in strictness, such letters ought to be from a Bishop." And, when I replied that in London I might probably see the Archbishop of Canterbury, and could ask him if he would countersign or otherwise authorize the letter, he desired me to do so by all means. Also, on hearing that I had declined introductions, which had been offered to me to English residents in Petersburg, and in particular one to our ambassador, Lord Clanricarde, and that I hoped to go on at once to Kieff, Dr. Routh bade me on no account decline the intro-

duction to our ambassador. "That," he said, "is *very* likely to be useful, especially in such a country as Russia:" in consequence I obtained this introduction.

The letter of commendation, as altered and to be given to me by the President, was in English as follows:—

"To all faithful believers in Christ, to whom these letters may come, wishing grace, health, and salvation. Whereas it has been signified to me that one of our fellows—William Palmer, Master of Arts and Student in Theology, and Deacon in Holy Orders, desires to go to Russia for ecclesiastical studies, I, approving and encouraging his desire, do, by these present letters, sanction his undertaking. I wish him, after asking permission of the most potent and religious Emperor, if the piety of the Emperor grants his request, to present himself with all reverence to the Russian Bishops, and especially to the Most Holy Spiritual Synod, that by their favour and protection he may become acquainted with the doctrines, rites, and ceremonies of the Russian Church, and may learn the Russian language, either in some Spiritual Academy or elsewhere, as may be judged most convenient.

"Further, I ask, and even adjure in the name of Christ, all the most holy Archbishops and Bishops, and especially the Synod itself, that they will examine

him as to the orthodoxy of his faith with a charitable mind, and, if they find in him all that is necessary to the integrity of the true and saving faith, then that they will also admit him to communion in the Sacraments.

"I would have him submit and conform himself in all things to the injunctions and admonitions of the Russian Bishops, only neither affirming anything, nor doing anything, contrary to the faith and doctrine of the British Churches.

"To these letters I willingly affix my name and seal this fourth day of August, in the year of Christ, 1840.

"MARTIN JOSEPH ROUTH, *President of St. Mary Magdalen College in the University of Oxford.*"

Our ambassador to the Court of Russia, Lord Clanricarde, being then in London, gave me several letters of introduction to persons living at Petersburg, especially one to the Count Pratasoff, *Ober Prokuror* (High Procurator) of the most holy Governing Synod; and another to M. de Barante, the French Ambassador. "You will be surprised," Lord Clanricarde said, "to see a General of Hussars in his uniform, an *aide-de-camp* of the Emperor, presiding in the Synod, directing the Bishops, and governing the Church."

Later, when I was in Russia, I heard a story of the Grand Duke Michael, brother of the Emperor, while conversing with some officers of his suite, on the approach of the Count Pratasoff, saying, "Here comes our Patriarch."

CHAPTER IV.

Difficulties with the Primate.

ON Saturday, August 1, I told the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Howley, what Dr. Routh (for whom he expressed the greatest respect) had done for me, and he said that he would willingly countersign Dr. Routh's letter. On Wednesday, the 5th, having received it from Dr. Routh that morning, I took it to Lambeth to the Archbishop's chaplain for the Archbishop's signature, leaving with him at the same time a copy of my Latin Introduction to the Thirty-nine Articles, not to be given then to the Archbishop, but that it might be at hand in case of any question arising in Russia out of my application to be admitted to communion, which might make it proper to refer to the living authorities of our Church—as supposing, for instance, it was objected that I was putting on our Articles a sense which did not properly belong to them.

This was on the 5th. Next day the chaplain wrote

to me from Lambeth that the Archbishop, after reading Dr. Routh's letter, did not feel able to put his name to any such document. He would not indeed refuse to give me letters commendatory as to a person going on a visit of *inquiry*, such as both his Grace and the Bishop of London had given recently to Mr. Tomlinson (and such indeed as they gave a year or two later to the Anglo-Prussian Bishop Alexander of Jerusalem), but the Archbishop would altogether object to a clergyman of our Church offering himself for that kind of examination to the Bishops and Clergy of the Russian Church, with a view of joining, if permitted, their communion.

This letter took me to Lambeth again. In a conversation with the Archbishop's chaplain I assured him that I proposed to offer myself to no other kind of examination in Russia than such as every stranger who offers himself at all to communion must necessarily undergo even in England; that according to the Rubric, even parishioners are required to give notice before communion to the curate, which implies an opportunity of his questioning them; that it was far from my intention to ask the Archbishop to endorse my anonymous Introduction to the Thirty-nine Articles, or to commit himself to any special approval of the opinions or acts of an individual traveller. All that I desired was, in truth, a certificate that Dr.

Routh and the bearer of Dr. Routh's letters are in communion with the Church of England and with its Primate.

All this I wished to be reported to the Archbishop, expecting to receive from him such certificate as he might be willing to give; but hearing nothing further for several days, I left London for Petersburg on the night between the 11th and 12th instant, by the route of Hamburg, Lubeck, and Cronstadt.

However, the Archbishop did not eventually leave my letter without an answer. It was gained in the following way. Immediately before leaving London I wrote to my father an account of what had taken place about my journey. I told him of the President's formal letter and of the College's leave of foreign travel, and then of the Archbishop's disliking to countersign Dr. Routh's document, or even to certify that the President and myself were in communion with the Church of England, thinking that such an act might be understood in Russia to make him a party to all my proceedings; an anticipation, which was doubtless increased by my having drawn up a Latin statement of the sense in which I understood our Articles. I went on to say that the Archbishop, as his chaplain assured me, did not mean to express any disapproval of the step I was about to take, but only was disinclined to become in any way responsible for

it himself. As it is, my Letters of Orders, signed by the Bishop of Oxford, and the two letters of the College and of the President, would, I supposed, be proof enough that I belong to the Church of England, and that I have the approbation of my immediate superiors in what I do. Of course I must take care to make it understood that my statement of doctrine expresses merely my own personal interpretation of our Articles, and that if in anything it seems to misrepresent their sense, or the doctrine of our Church, I submit it to the judgment of her living authorities.

On receipt of this letter, my father put it into the hands of Mrs. Howley, who was a connexion of his, and she read it to the Archbishop. In this way I learnt that his Grace was much pleased with it, and wished my father to know that "he considered my success as standing a much better chance without his signature, as no suspicion could attach to an individual acting independently, but if authorized by his Grace, it might excite alarm. His declining, therefore, to sign the paper, she said, was a matter of caution equally beneficial to both parties." My father added that I had created an interest and left a favourable impression behind me at Lambeth. This letter he wrote on September 12th, and I received it at Petersburg.

CHAPTER V.

Mr. Palmer on his way to Petersburg.

AUGUST 6, O.S. [N.S. 18.].—On board the *Alexandra* steamer in the Gulf of Finland, passing along the coast of Livonia and Esthonia, conquered by Peter the Great from the Swedes; passing Revel and Narva, and approaching Cronstadt.

It was before Narva, at the commencement of the Swedish war in 1700, that Peter's army had been utterly destroyed by Charles XII.; but four years later, on August 9th, 1704, Narva was taken by Peter. "On the 9th," says a letter dated the 17th, and written from Narva after its capture, "Rongodiev, a separately fortified part of Narva, was taken by assault in three quarters of an hour—two stone fortified precincts, and a third of earth, extremely strong and rich, and admirably well-built. In the two stone towns there is no wooden building whatever. The streets, too, are all paved with stone. In Russia there is nothing like it, except at Moscow." This was a year and three months after the first occupation of the site

of Petersburg. "On the 16th of May, 1703," says Solovieff, "on one of the small islands of the mouth of the Neva, a little below the site of Kantsi, there was heard the sound of the axe, and they began to erect a small wooden town. This small town was Petersburg, the capital of the new Russian Empire. Muscovy was no more" (Hist. vol. xiv. p. 349).

Peter's idea at that time, as expressed in his own words, was to found a Russian Amsterdam. He had not as yet formed the design of making his new city the capital. On the 16th of May that year, the feast of Pentecost, or of the Trinity, they began to found the fortress of Petersburg, a wooden church of SS. Peter and Paul, four lines of houses for the commandant and his soldiers, and a small house of only two rooms and a kitchen for Peter himself, and one much larger for Menshikoff, in which the Tsar was to give banquets and to hold councils. Forty thousand labourers were set to work. The house of Menshikoff in the Vassili Ostroff, the church of the Trinity (Troitski sobar) near to Peter's own small house, and the fortress of Cronstadt with its double harbour on the Isle of Kronslot, at the mouth of the gulf, date from 1710. In 1712 the Governing Senate (instituted February 22nd, 1711), at first consisting of eight members, was partially transferred to Petersburg.

Thus Peter began his new Muscovy; he had no

pleasant associations with the old. In time of the Tsar Alexis Michaelovich, and remaining till the reign of the Empress Elizabeth (when it was destroyed by fire), there was at Moscow a suburban palace, named from its church Preobrajensk, or "the Transfiguration," and there, after the events of May, 1682, the great Peter, Peter Alexievich, was kept by his half-sister, the Regent Sophia, at a distance from the court, and left purposely without suitable instructors. He lived with his mother, Natalia Cyrillowna, became a "street-boy," and amused himself with playing at soldiers. On the outskirts of Moscow, to the same direction with Preobrajensk, there was a suburb called Koukou or Nalivaiki (Drinkborough), inhabited by Germans and other foreigners, chiefly Protestants, and Peter, passing through this suburb whenever he went into the city or returned, was brought more and more into contact with the foreigners. When he began to play at soldiers, he accepted all who offered themselves, noblemen and stable-boys, native Russians and externs, orthodox Christians and Protestants, or infidels, all alike. He became more and more intimate with the inhabitants of Koukou, took a liking to their free and easy manner, and especially to their beer and tobacco, and to their material civilization.

Gradually his playfellows grew up into two regiments of guards devoted to his person, and imbibed his

anti-Russian ideas, were drilled after the German fashion, officered in part by foreigners, and named, from his suburban residence and from another neighbouring locality, the Preobrajensky and the Semenovsky regiments or polks. Thus he became a power, and was able to put down his sister Sophia (who saw her danger when it was too late), to exterminate the Strelsi (the janizzaries of the former Tsars), to subject the nobles and the clergy, no less than the peasants, to his absolute will, in a word, to transform, metamorphose, or *transfigure* his country, both civilly and religiously, destroying the old Muscovy which hated and loathed him as an impious, semi-pagan, and unnatural monster, creating a new Russia with its new capital and new borrowed materialistic civilization, which has given to him the title of "The Great" Emperor or Tsar, and Father of his country, which has hitherto worshipped him as a demi-god. When he was in England (January 10th to April 28th, 1698), and had conversation with English bishops, one of them indeed, Burnet, described him as a furious man, in fact, a savage; but one of the national poets of his new civilization sings, "He was a god, he was thy god, O Russia! descending to thee from the realms above."[1] As I was coming up the

[1] [Mr. Palmer has added here at a later date, that "the last public official celebration of his apotheosis was on May 30, 1871, the bicentenary of his birth."

Gulf of Finland, and approaching Cronstadt on the 18th of August, that is the 6th o.s., 1840, it was the festival of the Preobrajensky regiment and of its church, which stands in an enclosure surrounded by trees, and by cannon captured from the Turks; and the same festival, the Transfiguration, is continued during eight days till the 13th, which is the octave.

CHAPTER VI.

He arrives at Petersburg.

ON our arrival off Cronstadt at 11 a.m., on Wednesday, August 7th [N.S. 19], the steamer was boarded by the police and custom-house officers, and with a boat's crew of rough, hard, brown-faced, shaven men, in long, brown greatcoats. In other boats which came alongside, we saw, as we looked down over the ship's side, blue Kaftans, and merchants with magnificent beards. The passports of the passengers were given up, and examined in the cabin, and the passengers themselves were all questioned very minutely, one by one. When at length this tedious inquest was over, and the greater part of the officials had left us, we went between the batteries, by which the Isle of Cronstadt, or Kronslot, is surrounded, having on our left, as we passed, first the pier and the commercial port with its forest of masts, and then the naval port, with some thirty great men-of-war, many of them three-deckers. The granite fortifications looked strong, and the ap-

proach towards Petersburg afterwards was striking. The water, though the navigable channels might be narrow, was of great width, and, looking towards the shore of the mainland, on our right we saw rocks just high enough to diversify the scenery, with the buildings of Oranienbaum and others, and dark lines of trees. On the other side, towards the left, and in front, the city itself, in very bright colours and of great extent, seeming, though still far off, to rise immediately out of the water. When we were eight or ten miles distant, we ran aground upon a mud-bank, and lay some three hours, without any awning under a burning sun, till a smaller steamer came from Cronstadt, and took us on board.

At length we saw distinctly rising before us in the distance one great cupola (that of the unfinished church of St. Isaac), and presently four lesser cupolas round it, all gilt and flashing brightly in the sun, and several other large churches, with five, or even more domes each, with a bell-tower perhaps besides, unlike anything to be seen in the West; some of the domes, as those of St. Catherine's Institute, were of a pale green, others of a bright copper-colour. Those of the Trinity Church (the church of the Semenoffsky regiment of the guards) were of a bright blue, studded with stars of gold. The tall, slender, gilt spires (slender as a thread and gleaming in the sky) of the Admiralty, and of St.

Peter and St. Paul in the fortress, especially the latter, attracted my attention. As we came nearer, trees and lines of building were reflected upside down in the water along the shores.

While gazing on this scene, we made a turn to the left, and found ourselves almost at once in the heart of the city, alongside of a magnificent granite quay, with rows of palace-like buildings, of light, cheerful tints on either side of the greater Neva, which is here a clear, flowing stream of noble width. The whole river is divided into four chief streams, called the Great and Little Neva, and the Greater and the Less Nevka, which encompass and divide from one another a number of islands; but we saw only the Greater Neva, having on our right, ahead of us, the Admiralty, and beyond it the Winter Palace and part of the city, and on our left the Vassili-Ostroff (i.e. the Island of Basil), and beyond it, ahead of us, the islet of the fortress, and the Petersburg Island, or *Side*, as it is called. The channel on which we were is somewhat too wide to allow of the quays and buildings on both sides to be seen at once to full advantage. Immediately ahead of us, when we stopped, there was a bridge of boats (the stone bridge not being yet begun). Opposite the landing-place there were drawn up, as if friends were expecting some of the passengers, carriages with four horses, and immensely long traces, a bearded coachman on the box, and a boy

riding one of the leaders. Similar equipages drove past at a rapid pace, the boy screaming in a shrill tone to all to get out of the way. Droshkies too, that is, padded boards on four wheels, with a seat for the driver in front, and rests for the feet of the passenger like flat stirrups on either side, were standing to be hired, or passing in numbers. These open, rough vehicles, which well deserve their name of *Droshkies* (i.e. *Shakers*), afford no protection against either dust or rain. A man mounts them, and rides astride behind the driver, as if on horseback, but a woman or any second passenger sits sideways, and holds on as it were to a pommel. The horse has a high wooden arch rising from the ends of the shafts over his head, called a *donga*, under which he tosses his head freely. To these dongas and to the horse's head-gear bells are attached, so that there is a great jingling, useful no doubt in the winter when the sledges glide noiselessly and rapidly over the snow. The dresses of the ladies in the carriages probably came from Paris, but the blue Kaftans of the coachman and outriders, and of multitudes of other people on foot, with red, blue, or yellow sashes and caps, intermixed with peasants in sheep-skins (all with beards), private soldiers (these without beards), in long grey or brown cloaks, and numerous officers in all sorts of uniforms and plumes, with now and then a Circassian, or something else unmistakably Oriental, made a scene striking

enough to one who came for the first time direct from London.

One was struck especially by these points of contrast: the blue, cloudless sky; the clear, broad river; the quays, lined with palaces; the clean, lively tints of the buildings, without a trace of smoke or soot; the vast places comparatively empty, instead of crowded thoroughfares; while of the people visible few comparatively were women, and every third man seemed to be a soldier.

When we had moored alongside of the English Quay a number of police officers came on board and took possession of the cabin, where they seated themselves at a table, called in the passengers one by one, and questioned them, repeating the whole inquest to which we had already been subjected at Cronstadt. They asked, "Of what Government are you a subject? of what confession of faith? of what profession or quality? how old? what is your object in coming to Russia? to whom have you letters? where are you going to live or lodge?" the passport being examined at the same time.

I said that I was of the Orthodox or Catholic Religion, and a deacon: that I came for ecclesiastical study; and that I had letters to the Ober-Prokuror of the Synod, and to some others. However, seeing I was described in my passport as "le Révérend" they wrote

me down a *Prediger* or Pastor of the Anglican Reformed or Luthero-Calvinistic confession of faith; so at least I was described in my *carte de séjour*, which was printed in Russ, French, and German.

All my books (and I had brought a good many) were put together at the Custom House, and sent to the censors, from whom I did not recover them till twelve weeks after.

It was already evening when I found myself established in a lodging-house kept by two ladies with English names, a house not licensed as an hotel, but connived at for the convenience of English and American captains and traders; it is in the Galernaia, a long street parallel to the English Quay.

CHAPTER VII.

His first walk in Petersburg.

THURSDAY, August 8 [O.S.], 20 [N.S.].—About four, and on to five a.m., the bells of different churches were going with a gong-like, booming sound. I rose and took my first walk in Petersburg.

Passing along the Galernaia, I issued out from under an arch at its further end into the Isaac's Plain, bounded on the side opposite to me by one of the sides of the huge Admiralty with its gilt spire; to the left of me by the Neva, with the Vassili Ostroff and the island of the fortress, with its still loftier and gilt spire; and to the right by the church of St. Isaac, *Hegumen* or head of a Dalmatian monastery in the time of Valens and Theodosius, whose feast-day, May 30, is the birthday of the Tsar Peter. This church, though still surrounded by scaffolding, showed its magnificent dark-coloured polished columns, monoliths, forty feet high, at each of the four fronts of the Greek cross; and others of the same material encircled the cylin-

drical wall, from which the central cupola rises above.

Turning round and looking back, I saw on each side of the archway under which I had just passed, and which by it were united to each other above, two handsome blocks of building or palaces, with stairs leading up to each, and inscriptions on their fronts, showing that the one on the right was for the use of the Governing Senate or Council of State, and the one on the left for the use of the most Holy Governing Synod. The similarity of the two buildings suits well the idea and intention of Peter, who instituted the Spiritual Kollegium, to which he gave the name of Synod, and then the Patriarchal title of Most Holy, in order to its being on a footing of an exact equality with the Senate.

But the object of most interest in the Isaac plain is the bronze equestrian statue of Peter, the work of Falconet, with the laconic and pregnant inscription on it, *Petro Primo, Catharina Secunda.* It is certainly a fine group. His horse is rearing on a huge block of Finnish granite. He faces the water, as he ought to do. He has made his way, in spite of all obstacles, to the sea; he has Schusselborg and the Ladoga on his right and Cronstadt and the Baltic on his left; his right arm is raised as if he bade the fortress and the church of St. Peter and St. Paul, his own small dwelling, and

the church of the Holy Trinity, and the city which was to grow up around them, to start into existence.

Of three long streets, called *prospekts*, which converge towards the Admiralty, the Nefsky runs[1] from the winter palace down to the Lavra or monastery of St. Alexander. This is the chief street of all Petersburg, answering to the most fashionable of the Boulevards of Paris. With broad *trottoirs* on either side, and the usual rough pavements in the middle, it has also a double line of carriage-way paved with hexagonal blocks of wood. The houses, which in general are not more than two or three stories high, are all built of brick in great blocks, with from eight to twenty or more windows in a row, and with stucco fronts coloured with a pleasing variety of light tints. Two peculiar features are these;—below, the projection of light porches, supported by very slender rods or columns with flat roofs, from many of the houses across the footway; and above, the frequency of awnings to the windows, capable of being taken in, like the wings of an insect, or thrust out at pleasure. Long rows of letters, often of great size, of different lengths, and at different heights, coloured or gilt, with the names or advertisements of the occupiers of each house or story, and large window-boards painted with all the wares of

[1] [Three English miles in length, and nearly in a straight line.]

the dealer within, make up in some degree for the comparative little show there is of glass shop-windows.

The Grand Prince Alexander Garoslavich (father of Daniel, who first raised the city and appanage principality of Moscow to importance) was surnamed Nefsky from his victories gained on the banks of the Neva over the Swedes in 1241, when he was yet only Prince of Novgorod, while his father Garoslaff reigned as Grand Prince under the Tartars at Vladimir. For the sake of this historical association, after Peter had reconquered from the Swedes these regions, the relics of St. Alexander were translated hither from Vladimir on August 30, 1724, fourteen years after Peter had first marked the site for the convent and seminary, and had laid the foundation there of a church of the Holy Trinity. Here was placed St. Alexander; and, with the distinctive title of Nefsky, he became one of the patron saints of the new capital, or rather the special patron, from the presence of his relics; though the church of the fortress, the first founded, was dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul in connexion with the name and origin of Petersburg itself. The Nefsky Prospekt ends with St. Alexander's Lavra; here the Metropolitan Seraphim resides. Here, within its precincts, separated by a passage and a door locked up at night, is the Spiritual Academy and the Seminary. Here, in

its cemetery, many of the nobility and of the wealthier citizens are buried, and more than one of the last descendants of the Romanoff line.

Going along the Nefsky Prospekt I soon came to a church, shown by its inscription, "Deo et *Servatori* sacrum," to belong to the Dutch, Swiss, and French Calvinists; then to another, of the Lutheran Germans. This was founded by Peter himself, at the request of some of his foreigners, at the same time that he founded on the Viborg side the Russian church of St. Samson, who is commemorated on the 27th June in honour of the victory of Poltava. Then I came to the church of the Poles and other Roman Catholics, subjects of the Empire or strangers. This is held by Dominican fathers, and a little beyond this there is a church of the Armenians, not far off, but not in the same street, but in the *Koninshnaia*. There is a church also of the Lutheran Finns. All these are churches of a certain size and appearance, and in consequence of their presenting themselves one after another in the principal street of the city, the street itself has sometimes been called jocosely, "*la rue de la tolérance.*" In fact the subjects of the conquered provinces, whose religion has been guaranteed to them, and strangers, are more than tolerated; they are often liberally assisted by the Government. But none of these churches exist for native Russians; nor can their ministers receive prose-

lytes from the Russian Church. If they did, they would be expelled the country: and any member of the Russian Church joining another communion incurs the penalty of civil death. On the other hand, members of the tolerated communions may, if they comply with certain forms, be received as proselytes from one to another; and the Russian Church may receive proselytes from them all. The children, too, of all mixed marriages must be bred up as members of the dominant Church. Nevertheless, in spite of this severity of the laws, there are millions of native Russian schismatics called *Raskolniki*.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Kazan Church.

ON the side opposite to these tolerated churches one finds the Kazanski Sobor, so called from an *icon* (picture) of the B. Virgin brought from Kazan. At present this is the chief church of Petersburg; but the Isaaski Sobor, when finished, will supplant it. The Russian name *Sobor*, often mistranslated *cathedral*, means rather a collegiate church (the *catholicon* of the Greeks, or church of the general assemblies) than a cathedral properly so-called; and even the chief *Sobor* is not necessarily connected with the residence of a bishop, who always lives in a monastery. The name *Sobor* in Russ, besides the chief churches in monasteries, designates also all such churches as have a number of priests attached to them.

The Kazanski Sobor, which I visited about a quarter past five p.m., where the vespers were already over, has a semicircle colonnade, said to have been suggested by that before St. Peter's at Rome, fronting towards the Nefsky

Prospekt, and attached at its centre to the north transept, through which is the chief entrance. The church itself extends lengthways behind this colonnade, parallel with the street. It is always open, which the lesser churches are not; and the hours, at least at this time of the year, for the vespers, the matins, and the liturgy (i.e. the mass services) are said to be four p.m., four a.m., and ten a.m.

Before great festivals and Sundays (and at other times the same may be done for convenience) the Great Vespers and Matins are usually sung together overnight, and the whole is then called Ἀγρυπνία, i. e. the vigil service. This is the custom in summer, when the days are long.

This church is 204 feet long, 156 wide, and inside to the top of the central cupola 156 high; but outside its height is nearly 200. It has been compared to that built by Justinian at Bethlehem, since, like it, it is in the form of the Latin Cross; and has outside double rows of splendid granite columns, between fifty and sixty in all, and about thirty feet high, with bronze Corinthian capitals. The eye, however, misses over them that upper wall, pierced with round-topped windows, which ought to support the flat roof of a basilica; and the roof, lying immediately upon the columns, looks ill.

There was a square, carpeted platform, rising by one

or two steps under the dome towards the nave, where the bishop vests and sits in the midst of the people when he is officiating and when he is not within the altar. The *Oltár* or sanctuary is separated from the body of the church by a great screen, running across the apse, and called the *iconostasis* or stand for *icons*, in the middle of which are three doors. In front before the screen there is a narrow space, a step or two higher than the pavement of the church, and on a level with that of the sanctuary within. On this the people were going up to kiss the *icons*, with which, and with gilding, the whole face of the screen was covered. In front there was a balustrade of solid silver, taken by the French from Moscow in 1812, and recovered by the Kozaks during their retreat. There are steps of Siberian malachite. The doors into the sanctuary are also of solid silver; the large lamps, too, which are before the large *icons*, are all of silver.

The special *icon* of this church is our Lady of Kazan, sheathed, like the rest, in drapery of silver gilt, and covered with jewels distinguished from those of the other *icons* by their greater number, size, and value. The *iconostasis* extends across the whole of the east of the church; and has in it, on either side of the great sanctuary, two other sets of three doors, opening into two side apses or lesser sanctuaries. This arrangement allows of additional liturgies (masses) in the

same church on the same day, the rule being that on the same altar, and on the same day not more than one liturgy can be celebrated.

The part of the church west of the great cupola had comparatively little ornament, though there were in it some *icons*. But from the roof, from the columns, and in the aisles, from the side walls, there hung many bunches of keys, keys of captured towns and fortresses, beginning with those of Azoff, taken in 1696, and many torn and faded flags taken in different wars from the Swedes, the Persians, the Turks, and the French, and from other enemies. Above, round the dome, there were bas-reliefs, as also on the outer door of the church. On the west wall I saw a flat tablet, recording the foundation of the church by the Emperor Alexander; the design, however, of founding it originated with his father the Emperor Paul.

There was no *benitier* of holy water at the entrance, such as there is in Roman Catholic churches, nor any seats whatever, nor was there that appearance of the church being used for recollection and meditation, or for reading devotional books, or for private prayer, or for visiting and adoring the Blessed Sacrament, which strikes one in the West of Europe. At the same time the separation of the sanctuary, its richly ornamented screen, and the severe supernatural expression of the older *icons*, made on one an impression of

mystery and awe. There was an abundance of pious gesticulations, bowing and crossing, kissing the *icons*, prostrating and touching the ground with the forehead (sometimes with an audible thump), and bowing and crossing again and again, and by men, young and old, as well as by women; and small slender waxlights were bought within the door at a sort of counter, and lighted and set up to burn (as if in the name, *à l'intention*, of those who had set them up), on the great *mannalia* (candelabra) which stand in front of the *iconostasis*, and which have a sort of platform round the base, that is, of the great candles, with a multitude of little sockets and spikes, for fixing the candles offered by private devotion. There were a good many poor in and about the church, and beggars at the doors, to whom those passing in and out gave kopecks freely. One day when I went again, my droshky-driver at the door of the church gave me back a kopeck from his fare, saying, "to set up a candle;" that so, as he was unable to leave his horse, his prayer might be represented by his candle.

The impression made by this church on the whole was that of great splendour and magnificence, and of neatness too. That made on me (on this my first visit) by the outward devotion of the people was one of wonder, curiosity, suspicion, and a certain repugnance (all being so contrary to English habits, and going

far beyond those of Roman Catholics), mixed at the same time with respect for the simplicity and reverence, and for the almsgiving, with which they were joined.

CHAPTER IX.

Table-talk at the lodging-house.

AUGUST 8 [o.s.].—At dinner at the English lodging-house some one observed, "Nearly every other day here is a festival. Tuesday last, August 6, was a great festival, the day on which they bless the apples—'Vinograd,' that is grapes, is the word; but there being no grapes they bless apples instead." "Yes," said another, "they won't eat nor sell the apples, till the priests have blessed them. When they build a house they put a cross in it, and have it blessed. They bless the river with a procession, and with great pomp, on the 1st of August, as well as on the 6th of January." "At Moscow," Mr. S. informed us, "before the Nickolsky Gate of the Kremlin, there is a picture of the Virgin for which a carriage is kept, and it is sent to the sick who apply for it; and they pay well for having it sent to them. On its return they hold it up over their heads that the people passing under may take a blessing from it.

There is a monastery at Moscow," he continued, "of about twenty-four monks, the Novospass, which is famous for its good singing. The Archimandrite of that monastery found a small picture, which he sent here, and obtained that it should be authenticated by the Synod. Then he set it up with a box for offerings under it, and raised a sum of 40,000*l.* sterling, which he spent in building a bell-tower higher than that of Ivan Veliki, the highest, in fact, of all that are now at Moscow. Having had such success, he found another picture, but they sent him word that one was enough." Englishmen here, who want to learn Russ, go into the country. Mr. N. went into a village, and was taught by the pope. Mr. T., the other day, asked for the "Angliski *pope*," and so got directed to Mr. Law, the chaplain of the factory. Our landlady observed, "He ought to have asked for the 'Angliski *pastór*.'"

"The Russians," she said good-naturedly, "have a good deal of religion in their way; but they are very superstitious. They are very ignorant, and it would be a good thing if they were taught to read and write. If they want to be heard in their prayers they stick up a candle." Her Russian servants, she said, go to the liturgy (mass) at ten a.m. on alternate Sundays; and sometimes they go out at three or four o'clock in the morning to the Matins (i. e. during the winter) return-

ing at six or seven. Both the Liturgy and the Vigil services last about two hours, and a great many of the Russians go to church on weekdays as well as on Sundays and festivals. There is a church in every Government office and institution, even, for instance, in the establishment for training the actors, singers, and dancers of the Court Theatre; and the people attached to any such office or institution commonly attend the services in its church. On state holidays they are even expected to attend.

The church-bells are struck by men who go up to them into the tower; they are not rung as ours are in England. They have a booming sound, and, when many of different sizes are sounding together, their deep roar and clang, mixed with sharper and lighter tones, is grand and musical. "They sound the bells," she said, "*twice;* not only before the beginning of the service, but also in the middle of it." She meant at the consecration in the Liturgy; a custom now universal in Russia, but borrowed originally, like the Te Deum and the Indicative form of Absolution, from the Uniats[1] and the Poles of Little Russia.

"Their fasts," our landlady said, "are very strict, which is hard upon the poor, for meat here is cheap, fourpence a pound, but vegetables and fish are dear.

[1] [About the Uniates, *vide infra*, chapters xii., xiii.]

Fish is fivepence a pound. It costs our washerwoman eighty kopecks[2] to provide her food in fast time, instead of forty, which are enough at other times; and of this she complains. Also it is inconvenient that our Russian servants during the fasts will not consume the meat left by the English and American lodgers. And they are not content with potatoes, but must have soup made with oil and fish (though in the great Lent they do not eat fish). During the fasts the lower class "live chiefly on black rye-bread (which is moist and viscid, and slightly acid) and *shtochi*, a kind of soup made of red cabbages salted." One of their four Lents, which they are keeping now, is the first part of this month of August, from the 1st to the 14th (the eve of the Assumption) inclusively. It is called the Fast of our Lady (of the Mother of God). The other three Lents are the Fast of the Nativity, consisting of forty days before Christmas (beginning from the 15th of November), the Great Lent (the preparation for which begins from the Sunday before Septuagesima), and the Fast of the Apostles, which is of variable length, according as Pentecost falls earlier or later, beginning with the Monday after the Sunday of All Saints, called by us Trinity Sunday, or the first

[2] [A rouble is worth 100 kopecks; that is, (the rouble's value in English money being about 3*s.* 2*d.*) a kopeck is not quite two-fifths of a penny.]

Sunday after Pentecost, and ending with the 28th of June, the eve of the Feast of the Apostles. The great mass of Russians, they say, perform their devotions, and communicate only once a year, commonly in the first or last week, or else in some other week of the Great Lent; and all public servants, both soldiers and civilians, are allowed—some one week, during which they attend all the services three times a day—to perform their devotions (the Russian word is *goviêt*). To confess and to communicate once a year is required; but some of the more pious will communicate, as many as four times, once in each of the four Fasts. And this is, in fact, recommended by their Church. The old people are very strict in observing the weekly fasts on Wednesday and Friday. On some days Miss D. says they eat nothing at all till six o'clock p.m.

CHAPTER X.

Table and other talk.

AUGUST 9 [o.s.].—I saw Mr. Blackmore, chaplain of the English Russia Company at Cronstadt, for the first time. As I was going to the police office and the alien office with the clerk of the English Church, he observed that this is a country in which foreigners need recommendation and protection; and, on my replying that I had a letter to Count Pratasoff, the Ober-Procuror of the Synod, he said, "O then, sir, you are quite at the top of the tree, for he is the man that governs the Church." I said, "I fear the Russians may rather object to me, that we English have let our kings and Parliaments alter our Church and religion as they pleased." "I dare say, sir," he replied; "but it is a very different thing here. Here there is no mistake about it." At tea, at my lodging-house, Mr. T. said, that not long ago he saw some prisoners going off to Siberia for heresy. They had attempted to start some invention or reformation in religion. He

talked of *our* having protested against the Roman Catholic Church, and having embraced the Protestant religion; "but," he observed, "I can't abide a Dissenter, because I pray in church against heresy and schism. Speaking of Confession, he said, "I, for one, never could submit to that; and, as to fasting, I should like to know where that is directed in the English Prayer-book!" There are two English churches here, that of the Factory at Cronstadt, and another in Petersburg, called Sarepta, for English and American Independents, established originally by Dr. Pinkerton, agent of the Bible Society. Mr. Blackmore, and Mr. Law, are their respective chaplains. The English who die here are buried in the cemetery of the Lutherans. A month or two later a Russian lady told me that her aunt had written to her from Moscow that she had heard of me from some one there, who said that I had scandalized some of the English at Petersburg by making the sign of the cross, seen perhaps at some Russian dinner-table; but there is a clergyman here, in some other respects a very strong Protestant, who said he found no fault at all with *that*; he thought it quite harmless and edifying: "in fact," he added, "I often make the sign of the cross myself, but 'secretly' under my surplice, 'for fear of the Jews.'"

A Russian nobleman having asked his banker, a

Scotchman, some question about me, the reply was, "Oh, he is not of *our* Church; he is a member of some new sect;" and the same nobleman having said something to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Nesselrode, and as if the Anglican Church differed from the Lutherans and Calvinists, and was nearer to the Russian, Count Nesselrode answered, "The Anglican Church is just like the rest, simply Protestant and heretical. I must know, for I am an Anglican myself." (In fact he was so; and he communicated in the English Church every Easter.) But our Ambassador, Lord Clanricarde, answered somewhat differently. He said, "If you examine our formularies and the writings of some of our former bishops and divines, you may find in them much to justify such a representation of the Anglican Church. But if you go into our churches, you will see nothing at all of that kind. In fact, they have made all so bare and mean that religion has become contemptible to people of the higher classes."

August 10 [o.s.].—Went out in the evening and looked into the neighbouring Church of St. Nicholas Morskoi (i.e. of the sea or the sailors). It has a bell-tower at its west end, standing apart; not inelegant, though rather pagoda-like, with its roofs showing separate stages at intervals, coloured of a lighter green than its five cupolas. The whole is surrounded by a

pretty large enclosure with trees and grass like a garden, but no tombs.

Going eastward, I came upon the Church of the Ascension—a church with five dusky-blue domes and a separate bell-tower. I could not get far in, as the church was quite full; but there was something so new and striking in the singing, which was sweet and distinct, and unaccompanied by instruments, and in the life and feeling with which the crowd joined in chanting frequent responses of *Hospodi pomilui* (i.e. Kyrie eleison), that I remained rivetted in attention for an hour or more, though I understood nothing. I observed some priests, who were not officiating, standing in chocolate-coloured gowns and wide sleeves, with beards and long hair, and boys, such as I had seen also in the morning, dressed as choristers in blue-striped cotton frocks or blouses, with girdles, and their ordinary dress below.

The secular, or white priests, all have beards, and wear when going about a close-fitting, long, cloth cassock and a loose gown—the cassock with tight, the gown with large open sleeves—and a low, broad-brimmed hat. In the house they often (when alone) wear only the cassock. The gown and the cassock are commonly of the same colour, which varies according to the taste of the wearer, and may be chocolate colour, dark green, dark blue, olive, or any other

colour, except black, which is the badge of the *black* or monastic clergy. Actual *white*, though they are called the *white* clergy, is not worn by the seculars; nor are any very light shades of other colours in use.

To return. The pictures were splendid, and all lighted up; only the chandeliers when I came in were not lighted. The sharp treble voices of the boys mixing with the deeper tones of the older singers of the congregation, were very pleasing. There were also at times prayers. Bells of different churches were going on all sides at intervals, with their gong-like sound. The priests officiating in the Church of the Ascension were invisible, as I stood behind in the throng. I had never before heard anything so stirring and so congregational in divine worship. When all was over, there was the same general salutation of the *icons* as I had seen before. The crowd of beggars, who stood ranged in two rows both within the doors and without as we passed out, was great, and everybody seemed to give to them. I saw children giving.

CHAPTER XI.

Mr. Blackmore's illustrative anecdotes.

SUNDAY, August 11 [o.s.].—Mr. Law took me in the afternoon to Alexandrofsky (in the direction of Viborg and Archangel), where he has a *datcha*, or country-house during the summer, and where he has an evening service for a small colony of English and Scotch people employed in some Imperial establishments directed by a General Wilson.

August 12 [o.s.].—The next day General Wilson showed us two very good churches, besides a magnificent chapel attached to the foundling hospital, in which a great number of children sang, all together, the Creed in the Grace, before their dinner, producing a very sweet volume of sound. The country around looked bleak and bare, with only pines and birch-trees in parts. On Tuesday, August 13, the octave or ἀπόδοσις of the festival of the Transfiguration (when all is sung according to the service-books, as on the festival itself), I returned to Petersburg.

The same day, August 13 [o.s.], I went down by the afternoon steamer to Cronstadt, to stay with Mr. and Mrs. Blackmore. His house and church have been built a mile from the commercial port; and so the two thousand sailors, who are generally here, come but little to the church. It owes its cross to the Emperor Nicholas, for he, when it was building, having asked what it was, and hearing that it was a new church for the English, exclaimed, "What! a church without a cross!" And the next time he came and saw it still without a cross, he sent word that they should put one on immediately. When some of the captains and sailors, Scotch and English, grumbled at this, Mr. Blackmore asked them whether they had never seen something of the kind in London on the top of St. Paul's?

Great part of the chaplain's income here comes from fees paid by captains and traders on taking the oaths required by the Russian regulations. As they would scruple to be sworn on the cross, they have to bring a certificate from the English pastor that they have been sworn before him after their own fashion. When, after being thus sworn, they have to give evidence, they are asked (as Russians also are asked) when they last received the Holy Communion (and of this, too, Russians need to have a written certificate). A very frequent reply is that they have *never* received it—some of

them being Scotch, and those from the north-east coast of England not being in general communicants. The Russians object, "Then your oath is worth nothing." To which the Scotchman or Englishman rejoins, "It is not our custom." They even wanted Mr. Blackmore to certify for them that it was not their custom.

For want of English, the servants of the English Church are Russians. One day, while the English were in the church, a ship was telegraphed, concerning which a Russian merchant had need to speak with an Englishman. So he went to the church, and asked the doorkeeper if Mr. N. was within, and wished to go in to find him. But he was told that could not be. Then he asked the doorkeeper to go in and bring him out, or to take him a message. That could not be done either. So he was obliged to wait, and hoped it would not be long. "No," said the man, "I think it will be over soon, as it is a long time since they all sat down to sleep."

Another story was told thus:—As some Russians were talking together rather idly, a lady said, "I always pity the English; they seem to be worse off than the rest. Even the Lutherans have Luther, and the Calvinists have Calvin, though they don't know how to use them; but the English have no saint at all to help them, so they must certainly go to a bad place."

In the absence of anything to irritate, since proselytism is impossible, there is a good deal of mutual civility, not only between the Russian, but even between the Roman Catholic clergy here and the Protestant pastors. They all came to the opening of the English Church. The Russian priest and the Lutheran pastor, and Mr. Blackmore himself, were all invited to the opening of the new Catholic Church. Mr. Blackmore, at the consecration of a new Russian church, was admitted within the sanctuary; and on the same occasion, when the Roman Catholic priest, wrapped in a cloak, was making for the sanctuary, some would have stopped him; but others, recognizing him, said, "Let him pass; it is his right, he is a priest."

The protopope of the sobor here is fond of liquor, as some of the clergy are still, though not so many as formerly, and the third priest is his son-in-law. The people, however, are indulgent towards the protopope, and they like him too, as being indulgent himself; and many of them dislike the second priest, Vassili—a very respectable man—as being too severe. Once Mr. Blackmore found the protopope incapable before his own house, under a heavy rain, and took him home at one o'clock in the morning. He said that he knew and respected Mr. Blackmore, and would go with him, but not with that fellow, *a mujik* (peasant), who was trying to take him away.

The *mujiks.*—Many of them get drunk on festivals. A servant, for instance, asked his master (Prince Michael Galitsin) at Easter to let him go "and get drunk like other Christians." They will religiously keep an oath taken before their *icons* or on the cross. An Englishman wanted to make his man-servant swear on the cross not to drink, but he refused. He did swear eventually, but not on the cross.

Their fastings are said to produce a reaction afterwards towards excess, even in the higher classes and among the religious. Mr. Blackmore approves rather of the Roman Catholic custom, which relaxes greatly the ancient rules, and he would approve of our Anglican custom most of all, if only it could be reconciled with Church principles, by supposing that our Primate gives us all virtually a general dispensation from *all* fasting. Here the people make themselves ill with eating and drinking after their fasts. Even those wretched women who live by sin suspend their trade during the fasts; and a Russian who is going to do anything sinful, will first turn the *icon* with its face to the wall.

A story was told to this effect:—There are two roads from Petersburg to Archangel, one well known and the other less frequented by foreign merchants and traders. By some chance, not very long ago, a German took the less-frequented road. It was

during the great Lent. Arriving at a village, he went as usual to the starost, or head-man, to quarter him somewhere where he might pass the night, paying for what he needed. The old peasant told him that he would himself take him in, that he was welcome, and need say nothing about payment; there was stable-room and fodder for his horses, and plenty of bread and salt. So the horses were stabled, and the stranger was soon seated in the house, where the best they had, but that only fast fare, was set before him. The German, however, did not relish this fare, and getting out of a basket of his own some cold pork, he began to eat. The Russian looked at him as if he scarcely believed his eyes, and then, drawing a hatchet from his girdle, without a word, he cleft the man's skull. For this he was knouted and sent to Siberia; but the villagers were far from regarding him as a murderer. And the same man, perhaps, when his confessor had taught him that such homicides were to do penance, would get a blacksmith to rivet a heavy chain round his body, and wear it till his death.

Sir R. Ker Porter, in his account of the campaign of 1812, relates a story akin to this, of a peasant, with whom some French foragers, after plundering his house of everything, even to the cat, amused themselves by pricking on the palm of his left hand the letter N, and rubbing in gunpowder. The peasant

asked, "Eto shto?" (what's that?) and being told by a Pole, who interpreted, that it was "N for Napoleon, so that now you are his man." "Am I?" he replied; and seizing his hatchet, he cut the hand off with a blow, exclaiming, "Take that to your emperor, if it be his; but with the one that is left I will serve Alexander Paulovich."

Peter the Great plundered the Church. Peter III., who was in truth a Lutheran, plundered it still more; and his open contempt for the *icons* alarmed the people. Catharine II., though she usurped the throne on pretence of defending orthodoxy, and at first flattered the clergy with hopes of restitution, completed (in A.D. 1762) the work of spoliation. Still the monasteries of monks and nuns exist; and though new ones cannot be founded, nor real property be acquired without special permission, voluntary alms come in aid of the insufficient allowances made by the Government.

The monasteries of men must be kept up, as long as the bishops are all monks; and as things are, the supply of monks fit to be rectors and professors in the spiritual seminaries and academies and bishops in the dioceses, is by no means greater than is needed. Some of these, indeed some of the unlearned monks, too, are of noble birth, and have been in civil or military service. I have been told of one—the Archimandrite Brenchininoff, now Superior of the Sergiefsky *poustin*

(hermitage of Sergius) at Strelna, on the Peterhof road. He was in the army, and rather a favourite with the Emperor. Not long ago, some members of the French Embassy were pleased with him, and M. de Barante invited him to dinner, and engaged some French Abbé to meet him, who had the best of it in an argument. And this being boasted of by the French, the Emperor sent an order to the Archimandrite not to leave his convent again without permission.

For a layman of the higher classes to become a secular or white priest is a thing unknown. On the other hand, sons of secular priests, especially such as have abilities, will often enter the civil service; and some, as the late Speransky, have risen to important, though not to the very highest offices. Commonly the secular priests marry their sons and daughters into one another's families, and they are often succeeded by their sons or sons-in-law, the support of a widow with unmarried daughters, or with young sons, entering into the family arrangement, upon which a priest marries, before being ordained.

I heard of one daughter of a priest here, who had had a better education than is common for her class, and who married unwillingly the young man who was to succeed her father, when she would have wished to marry a soldier or civilian. Still she continues to go to dances and parties, which is unusual for a priest's

wife ; and some of the officers are fond of teazing her, when they chat with her or ask her to dance, by calling her "Matushka" (mother), a priest himself being commonly addressed as "Batushka" (father).

The second priest here, Vassili, whom Mr. Blackmore would be glad to see more frequently, is shy (he thinks) of visiting him on account of the difference in social position. On the other hand, as regards himself, a colonel, asking him and Mrs. Blackmore to dinner, addressed him by a purely civil title proper to his own rank of colonel, that is, as a *gentleman*, not as a priest. The Russian clergy are invited to the houses of citizens and merchants, but never to those of the nobility. Admiral Rikard once won the goodwill of some of them (bishops they were) by taking them in from some anteroom, where they had been left waiting, and presenting them at Court.

CHAPTER XII.

Mr. Blackmore's translations, chiefly as bearing on the Uniats.

SUCH men as the Metropolitan Philaret of Moscow are somewhat cramped by the horror there is of anything like innovation. He, for instance, as having translated the Book of Genesis from the Hebrew, naturally quoted, in something he published, from his own version, not from the Septuagint. But for this he was blamed, and he was forced to alter his quotations in a second edition. The Metropolitan Philaret returns to Petersburg in October, and stays till June, in order to attend the meetings of the Synod. While here he resides in a lodge belonging to the Trinity Lavra, of which he is the Archimandrite.

The Metropolitan of Novgorod and Petersburg, Seraphim, is now the presiding member or "First member" of the Synod, not by any right of his see, but by ukase (*oukaz*) of the Emperor.

According to present *custom* the three Metropo-

litans of Novgorod and Petersburg, of Moscow, and of Kieff, and two archbishops, viz. the Emperor's Confessor and the High Almoner of the Army and Fleet, are permanent members of the Synod. Three more members are called to sit for two or three years perhaps at a time, from among the other bishops. Besides these eight there are certain assessors without votes, but all this depends absolutely on the will of the Emperor.

Mr. Blackmore within the last year or two has translated into English from the Russ (1.) Some sermons by Michael, late metropolitan of Petersburg; and other sermons by Philaret, the present metropolitan of Moscow; (2.) A history of the Russian Church from the earliest times down to the institution of the Synod by Peter the Great, by A. N. Mouravieff, a cavalry officer who has travelled in the Levant attached to the Foreign Office, but is now *Unter-Prokuror* of the Most Holy Synod; (3.) The Full Catechism of the Orthodox Catholic Church (of Russia); and (4.) The official account of the return in A.D. 1839 of a million and a half of Lithuanian Uniats to the communion of the Russian Church, after union with Rome for between two and three centuries.

The return [1] of these Uniats is regarded as one of the

[1] [There are two sides to the conduct of the Russian Government in this transaction. For the systematic violence by which

most important ecclesiastical events of our time, and, having taken place quite recently, it is still very frequently spoken of with satisfaction, especially by persons connected with the Government. By it the United Rite, which dated from 1596 in Little Russia, Volhynia, White Russia, and Lithuania, as well as Red Russia or Gallicia, all at that time under the crown of Poland, have, so far as the Russian empire is concerned, ceased to exist. There remains now in it only one United Diocese, that of Kholm, which though originally Russian, had long been annexed to Poland proper; and by that accident it has been preserved, at least for the present. The re-absorption of the Uniats by the Russian Church was a result which might have been anticipated from the time of the first partition of Poland, and in fact great numbers of them had already been reunited under Catharine II. and her successors, and a number of causes concurred to facilitate their reunion. They had not been honoured and favoured, while they were under the crown of Poland; nor had those promises which had been made to them been kept. By their union with Rome they had socially lost ground; the nobles had almost all passed over to the Latin rite, so that it had become usual to speak of the Latin rite as

this return of the Uniats was at length effected, *vide* Fr. Theiner's *L'Eglise Schismatique Russe* and *Vicende dalle Ch. Catt. nella Polonia e nella Russia.*]

that of the nobles, and of the united or Greco-Latin rite as that of the peasants; and as that rite had been preserved free from Latin innovations, it was no wonder if, on their passing from a Roman Catholic Polish to a Russo-Greek sovereign, they showed signs of gravitating towards their original communion, signs, of which the Russian Government would naturally avail itself.

But however attached they might still be to their original Eastern customs and rites, they could not after two centuries and a half of actual union with Rome be suspected of any sympathy with Protestantism, or with Muscovite representatives of the school of Theophanes Procopovich;[2] nor of any great zeal to transfer themselves from a purely spiritual to a purely secular head. Probably, then, some motive of policy, connected first with the prospect of the reunion of the Uniats, and then with its actual accomplishment, has had a share in promoting that reaction against the school of Theophanes Procopovich, and that desire to dissemble and palliate the excesses committed by the temporal power in Russia, which has of late been perceptible.

Under the present *Ober Procuror*, Count Pratasoff, himself educated by the Jesuits, the ideas of Church authority and of tradition, as opposed to the principles

[2] [That is, Platon and Philaret.]

of the Bible Society, have been during the last four years popularized in the Spiritual Seminaries and Academies. And at the same time that steps were being suggested and encouraged to bring about the return of the Uniats, documents were published which seemed intended to blunt the edge of Latin sarcasms, sure to be made against a Tsar-Patriarch and against a State Church which had been penetrated by Protestant principles.

CHAPTER XIII.

Official documents published with a view to the Uniat movement.

THESE documents are as follows :—First, in 1838, the year before the return of the Uniats, under the title of "Imperial and Patriarchal Letters," there were published (1.) A letter from Peter I. (the Great) to the Patriarch Jeremiah of Constantinople, dated Sept. 30, 1672, announcing the fact that he had instituted a Spiritual Kollegium or Synod to govern the Russian Church ; and requesting the Patriarch of Constantinople and the other Patriarchs to recognize as good the said College, and to correspond with it, as they had corresponded with the former Patriarchs of all Russia. (2 and 3.) Two Letters, that is, one from the Patriarch Jeremiah and one from the Patriarch Athanasius of Antioch, dated Sept. 23, 1723, identical in their wording, addressed to nobody, but recognizing "the Synod, instituted in Russia by the holy Tsar," in the manner desired ; (4.) Another letter of the same date from the Patriarch Jeremiah,

addressed to the Synod, with a copy enclosed of the XVIII. Articles of a Synod held in 1672 at Bethlehem by the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Dositheus, and serving partly as an ultimatum to certain British non-juring bishops (who in 1716 had sent to Jeremiah proposals for union, and had written again in 1722), and partly as a standard of orthodoxy for the Russian Synod itself. And (5.) These same Articles of the Synod of Bethlehem; now translated into Russ.

These XVIII. articles of the Synod of Bethlehem in 1672 sent by the Greek Patriarchs in 1723 to Russia and to England, I have said were now in 1838 published; but perhaps not so much for their own sake, as for the Patriarchal recognition of the Russian Synod which was contained in the formal letters which accompanied them. However, they have a curious and not unimportant history attached to them. They were originally obtained from the Patriarch Dositheus, by the French Ambassador of the day, M. de Nointel, to serve as a complete disavowal and condemnation of a former XVIII. articles of Calvinistic character, the work of Cyril Lucar, obtained some time before by the Dutch Ambassador. Dositheus (1672), in sending his own eighteen to M. de Nointel, expressed "a hope that he had done his work to the ambassador's satisfaction." Of course he had, for if Cyril leaned toward Calvin, Dositheus, in his statement of Greek doctrine, spoke with Rome.

He had overstepped the recognized bounds of orthodoxy in his statement of Greek doctrine not only by inserting the full Latin terminology of "accidents" as well as "substance," respecting Transubstantiation (the point on which the chief controversy had been raised in France, and in this he was only following the Synod of Jassy of A.D. 1643, i.e. the *Orthodox Confession* of Peter Mogila), but he admitted the Tridentine Canon of Holy Scripture; and in reply to the question, "Whether all the faithful are allowed to read the Holy Scriptures?" he made his Synod answer roundly, "No!" For this reason, in these and in some other points, the Russian Synod of 1838, in translating the XVIII. articles of the Synod of Bethlehem into Russ, has had to correct by altering or by altogether omitting what was plainly inaccurate. And this, however delicately it might be done, was an awkward thing to do; indeed, a thing not really of their competence to do, being what they are, and no more. But there were, as has been said, other reasons for bringing forward the Patriarchal letters connected with this document, reasons which overbore the awkwardness of making alterations; and therefore this document, as being inseparable from the letters recognizing the Synod, was altered so far as seemed necessary and published together with them.

So the Greek Patriarchs, at the same time that they

replied to the letter of Peter the Great, announcing the institution of the Russian Synod and the peace of Nystadt, gloriously ending the long Swedish war (which answer to Peter, written after a long delay and hesitation, I observe, was *not* published in 1838);[1] and while they were careful to send to Russia the XVIII. Articles of Bethlehem as their ultimatum to the British non-juring bishops, were content to recognize by letter the Russian Synod, Peter's Church Commission, without any accurate inquiry about its composition, "legitimatizing, confirming, and proclaiming it; giving it the style and title of Our Brother in Christ, the Holy and Sacred Synod, with authority to do and perform all that is done or performed by the four Apostolical and Most Holy Patriarchal Thrones; putting it in remembrance, moreover, exhorting and enjoining on it, to hold and preserve inviolably the customs and Canons of the Seven Ecumenical Councils, and all besides that the Holy *Eastern* Church acknowledges and observes;" and so giving it their blessing. Of these Letters that from the Patriarch Jeremiah of Constantinople, signing himself "your brother in Christ," is dated 23 Sept. A.D. 1723. By the publication in A.D. 1838 of these *Imperial and Patriarchal Letters*, it was no doubt sought to palliate in the eyes of the Uniats those acts of Peter

[1] [There is some obscurity here in the text. I have added some words to it.]

the Great, upon which the present government of the Russian Church is based. Every church is now required to have a copy of these Letters, with the *XVIII. Articles of the Synod of Bethlehem*, as printed in Russ appended to them.

Secondly, in A.D. 1839, the year of the return of the Uniats, there was published by the Synod a folio edition of the *Canons of the Seven Ecumenical and the nine Local Councils and the Canons of the Holy Fathers*, conjoined with the same in the older Kormchay, without any glosses, notes, or comments; and without any additions from the civil laws such as are added in the Kormchay, in Greek or Slavonic, in parallel columns.

Thirdly, in the same year, 1839, there was also published at the Synodal Press a new edition of the Russian text or version of the *Orthodox Confession of the Faith of the Catholic and Apostolical Church of the East*, as corrected and approved in presence of the Patriarchal legates in the Synod of Jassy of A.D. 1643, and afterwards approved by all the Patriarchs themselves. This *Orthodox Confession*, drawn up originally in Russ by Peter Mogila, was designed as a preservative for his flock in Little Russia from Protestant errors even more than from Latinism.

Fourthly and lastly, in the same year 1839 it was that the *Catechism* of the Metropolitan Philaret of Moscow, as recast, supplemented and corrected by him-

self under influences altogether contrary to those of the Bible Society, and to those under which it was originally written only for his own diocese, was published by the Synod, with the title of a *Full Catechism of the Orthodox Catholic Eastern Church.* In this catechism, which has been translated into German, French, and Modern Greek, and has been sent to the Eastern Patriarchs, besides constant references to the Holy Scriptures, and the Orthodox Fathers, and sometimes to the hymns and ritual of the Church, the *Orthodox Confession* of Peter Mogila, and the *XVIII. Articles of the Synod of Bethlehem* of A.D. 1672 (under the title of *Missive of the Eastern Patriarchs on the Orthodox Faith*) are cited as of authority.

Mr. Blackmore and I read and translated together at Cronstadt, the *Orthodox Confession* of Peter Mogila, in which we found no variation from the Greek or from the earlier Russian original. We read and translated together in the same way also the XVIII. Articles of the Synod of Bethlehem of A.D. 1672 (comparing the original Greek with the recently printed Russian version, and noticing all the alterations), and the *Imperial and Patriarchal Letters* which were the occasion of that Russian version.

CHAPTER XIV.

Further illustrative remarks by Mr. Blackmore.

MR. B. spoke of the advantages of the Russian diocesan seminaries (an institution imitated from the Uniats in the time of Peter the Great), but he doubted whether it would suit my purpose to live in the Spiritual Academy, supposing it to be permitted, as the Professors there do not live in community. He doubted, too, whether I *could* live in the family of a secular priest, owing to the great difference of their habits from ours. "It is well, however," he said, "if you wish to live in the Spiritual Academy that you have a letter to Count Pratasoff; for a year ago the Emperor, visiting the Academy, and finding it ill kept, transferred to the *Ober-Prokuror* the absolute charge of all the educational establishments of the clergy, which had before been under a Spiritual Commission." "The Russians," Mr. B. said, "in the first part of the seventeenth century, after having recovered Moscow from the Poles,

made a canon, in a synod held by the Patriarch Philaret, to rebaptize all the Latins, Roman Catholics and Protestants alike. And though this was forbidden afterwards by the Patriarch Nicon, it was only in the time of Peter the Great (who obtained a letter for that purpose from Constantinople), that they ceased to rebaptize Protestants. Still, if you would be admitted to communion" (an idea for which he was wholly unprepared) "you will have to be confirmed with Chrism: you will have to accept all the traditions of the Orthodox Eastern Church, and not only those which you may call ecumenical; you will have to confess before communicating. Perhaps you will say you have no objection, as this is not contrary to the doctrine and theory of our own Church. Then there is the Creed, on which the Greeks are very strong." I said I thought the Greek doctrine virtually agreed with the Latin; else it would be an heresy. He replied, "I cannot see that; the subject is altogether beyond human reasoning. I regret that it should ever have been moved; and we cannot defend the interpolation of the Creed, which Pearson is forced to give up." "At any rate," I said, "those Latin fathers, such as St. Augustine, who used the Latin mode of speaking before the schism, were Orthodox; and the Greeks have never yet dared to maintain that they held and taught heresy. And if so, the existing

difference which is the same, only widened and systematized, must be reconcilable in some way now, as it was then."

I spoke also to Mr. Blackmore of the definition of the Visible Church and of the advantage given to the Roman Catholics by the Russians and Greeks, when, like ourselves, they speak of them indifferently, whether in Russia, at Rome, or in England, as all standing on the same ground, whereas in truth there is a difference between their original communities and others of later formation, which latter I called schismatical. But he could by no means follow me in this; nor could he see that there is any fault to find with the Russians for speaking as they do. "They admit," he said, "the Latin Church to be still part of the Church, but fallen away and corrupted. If it were only to correct itself, it would recover its full place and honour; and there would then be no cause for separation of communion (rite being another thing) in Russia any more than at Rome. This is what they say, standing on the ground of the Seven Ecumenical Councils and the tradition of the undivided Church, from which, as they assert, their Eastern Church has never swerved, while the Latin or Roman Catholic Church has."

From living much with Russian naval officers and others, he has come to perceive, so he says, that their

invocation of the saints does not interfere with the one mediation of Christ; nor is their veneration of *icons* really idolatry, though there may be superstition mixed with it; and instanced the ambiguous use of the word "God," which is very awkward. "I have had many arguments," he said, "with my friend and colleague Law" (the chaplain at Petersburg) "on these subjects; but he, like most English people, cannot get out of his habit of speaking only from his own English point of view. You will find him of quite a different opinion from me. We have both been in Russia now about twenty years."

The English colony here—the residents, that is—are strangely isolated; and even the chaplains know little or nothing of what is going on in a literary or religious way at home. Mr. Blackmore, though he has been here above twenty years, speaks as if he had only just left college. He was at Merton, and entered, I think, about A.D. 1808. He was a contemporary of Mr. (John) Keble, whose name he remembers; but he had never heard of the *Christian Year*. When I expressed surprise at this, he accounted for it by saying that the charges for newspapers, periodicals, books, and small parcels here are at much the same rate as those for letters (and for every letter sent or received one has to pay a postage equal to about five shillings, besides what is paid in England). And

even to have a Review sent out costs so much in money and trouble that one would never think of ordering anything, unless it were a large quantity of books to be sent out at one time.

I should add, that, shortly after, when I saw the other chaplain, Mr. Law, he said that the Russian clergy form a caste apart: there may be some kind of respect paid them when they are officiating, but else very little. Few of them have received any education: they are mostly mere peasants. He said, "You will find it utterly impossible to live with them." He spoke of the upper classes, like the lower, being superstitiously attached to the worship of pictures, and of their putting many mediators in the place of Christ. He once asked a drunken servant where he would go if he died in that state, or in those habits? The man begged him not to talk of dying, but, when pressed, said that he would pray to his saint, and he would arrange matters for him if it were possible. "He seemed to regard his saint as a kind of attorney, whose business it was to get him off when the law went against him."

CHAPTER XV.

M. Baranoff's anecdotes.

AUGUST 14 [o.s.].—This morning (the Vigil of the Assumption) Mr. Blackmore brought up a poor nun whom he had seen passing his house. On entering the drawing-room she looked from one corner to another for the *Icon*, and seeing none, she crossed herself to an ornamented clock which stood just opposite. She was dressed in a black habit and cap like a hat without a brim, much like those of the monks, covered by a hood and veil. She is from a convent on the road to Archangel. The establishment by the Government schedule is for fourteen nuns, an *hegoumena* (head) and two others, seventeen in all, with an allowance of sixteen roubles each year. These nuns must be forty years old at their profession. Then there are seventy others, who are admitted at the age of twenty-five or twenty-six years; and, lastly, others, so as to make in all about two hundred. They support themselves by their work and by alms. They have two secular priests who celebrate the liturgy (mass) and other divine offices for

them. They have (sometimes) two liturgies in the day. She is now sent out to collect alms for regilding the *iconostasis* (screen) in their chief church. Like the monks, these nuns never eat flesh meat.

During the vigil of this evening I was introduced to an officer named Baranoff, who, as they all seemed to do, talked occasionally in the church, and afterwards came home with us to tea. Having recently been dangerously ill, he observed that they have an unspeakable consolation in their belief that the Blessed Sacrament is really Christ's Body and Blood.

On some other occasions afterwards I heard named members of mixed families, who, seeing the effects of this belief in their sick or dying relatives, were converted to the Russian Church by the desire to share the same privilege. One Lutheran lady, who at first thought that she might believe nearly the same without changing, if their doctrine was consubstantiation, in consequence consulted her pastor, asking him what she *ought* to *believe*, and whether what she had received was really the Body of Christ or not? the pastor replied, "Madame, c'est comme vous voulez," which shocked her, and she changed soon afterwards, saying that she did not wish to belong to a Church in which such matters were to depend only on her own feeling or opinion; there was no strength or consolation to be obtained from that.

Another Lutheran lady, married to a Russian, when supposed to be dying and almost insensible, had, through the over-great zeal of her Russian connexions in whose house she was, been reconciled to the Russian Church. Contrary to expectation she recovered, and her Lutheran relations urged her, for the honour of their Confession, to disavow what they said had been invalidly and illegally done without her will, and return to the profession of the Gospel. But she replied that she seriously and heartily accepted what had been done, and nothing on earth should ever induce her to go back, though she knew she was free to do so if she pleased.

As we were talking of superstitions, and of some usages which the English here often call heathenish, M. Baranoff told us that the plate of boiled grains, rice, &c., with raisins stuck in it, called *Koutia,* which is placed in church and blessed at funerals, on the commemorations of the dead on the eighth, twentieth, and fortieth days and their anniversaries, and twice a year taken to the graves in the cemeteries, and there eaten or distributed, is derived from an early custom of distributing at such times, in the name of the deceased, not only some refreshment to those who had assisted at the Liturgy (mass) or the Pannychid (vigil) over-night, but also alms and food to the poor. In fact, something like a meal was given to the poor at a funeral and the

two annual commemorations in the cemetery. And this last custom is even still kept up in some places.

M. Baranoff told us several remarkable stories, for instance: At the time of the mutiny on the present Emperor's accession, a certain captain had given assurance that he could answer for all his men; and, some of them having notwithstanding joined the mutineers, this man, being hardly spoken of by his colonel, shot himself. His sister, who was a nun, prayed much for his soul: and after twenty days she saw him in a dream, and he seemed to tell her that he was benefited much by her prayers, and to beg her to continue them. After forty days or a year (I forget which) he appeared again, giving her to understand that now it was well with him.

Again he spoke of a monastery on the road, I think to Archangel, where, when he was quite a boy, the remains of a *hieromonach*, named Theodore, were found incorrupt,[1] and wrought miracles. They acquired such

[1] [*Vide infra*, p. 91, *note*. The most famous of these instances are supplied by the catacombs at Kieff.

"On the Dnieper," says Cardinal Lambertini, "is the city Kieff, and here are certain crypts about which Herbinius, a Lutheran, wrote a treatise. He made an inquiry about them of the Archimandrite, and as the result of it candidly reports that they were the work of angelic men whose bodies had remained incorrupt for about 600 years by reason of their sanctity of life and singular piety towards God. However, we

fame, that when he was grown up, from a feeling of curiosity, he persuaded his sister and others of his family to go to a distance of 150 *versts* to the monastery where the relics lay. While they were there, a possessed girl was brought. She was bound with ropes and chains, and howled and cried in the most horrible and inhuman manner when the fit was on her. They sent for the priest to exorcise her; and as they were bringing the *Trebuck* (the Office-book) to read the prayers out of, she cried out not to let that book come near her; that it hurt her. When read, however, it

are ignorant whose bodies are buried in these crypts, and it ought to be enough for us that their incorruption [taken by itself] is not to be accounted a miracle."—*Canon. Sanct.*, pp. 208, 209.

Pinkerton says, "The sacred catacombs consist of subterranean excavations in the hard dry sand and clayey hills on the left bank of the Dnieper. As with tapers in our hands we passed along, winding in different directions, we came to the square cells of the monks in former times, now the sepulchral chambers of many of them. Smaller niches are also occupied with bodies lying in open coffins, swaddled and dressed up in silks, with gloves on their hands and shoes on their feet of the most costly materials. The number of these *moschos* is seventy-three. In some respects they resemble mummies; only the latter have been embalmed, whereas these are preserved from falling into dust merely by the peculiar quality of the soil, and the dryness of the air in these caves, resembling that in the lower aisles of the cathedral churches of Bordeaux and Bremen, where I have seen a number of bodies which have been preserved in the same way, some of them for centuries."—*Russia*, pp. 218, 219.]

produced little or no effect. They then made her touch the Relics, which she struggled most violently not to do. At last they laid her hand or arm upon them, and she shrieked out. And then it seemed as if she were stupefied or killed by it; and she lay as if in a swoon for some time. For all that, when she at last came to herself she was by no means cured. He and his party left without waiting to see the end. They say that there are many such cases; almost everybody has had personal knowledge of one or more. And though often there is no perfect cure, yet often on the other hand, there is a manifest cure; and even careless and irreligious people confess that it is so.

A friend of his, who had been living carelessly, was sitting alone one night in his room, his servant being in the anteroom. Suddenly his dog began to whine, and to show great excitement. At first he saw nothing; then he saw his father, who looked sternly at him, and asked him how long he meant to play the fool. The servant, being questioned, said that his attention had been excited by the dog's whining as if in alarm, and, on putting his head in, he saw his master looking like one dead. M. Baranoff said that from that time his friend has been an altered man.

CHAPTER XVI.

The Greek Liturgy.

THURSDAY, Aug. 15 [o.s.]. The Assumption. At 10 a.m. I went to the Liturgy, and found the church thronged, as it had been last night. The Deacon was standing with his face close to the Holy Doors, which presently were opened (that is for the lesser Introit, with the Gospel), and somewhat later (i.e. after the Gospel had been chanted) they were shut. After a while they again opened, and the Deacon came round again into the church from the north side-door, bearing on his head with one hand up to it the *diskos* (i.e. the paten) covered up, and having in his other hand a thurible, and followed by the priest bearing the chalice. Then the Holy Doors were again closed, and the veil within drawn. This is called the Great Introit, soon after which the Creed was sung by the two choirs of singers together; and the more mysterious part of the Liturgy followed, in which after the singing had ceased, Christ's words of the Institution

both for the Bread and for the Cup were uttered by the Priest aloud quite distinctly, and a response of *Amen* was sung after each recitation. Also the oblation, "*offering to Thee for all and in respect of all*" (διὰ πάντα καὶ κατὰ πάντα), was said aloud, a slight elevation being made at the same time by the Deacon, and the choir sang something after it; and the invocation of the Holy Ghost "to make this bread the Body of Christ" was likewise said aloud, with a response of *Amen* by the Deacon, and "to make this cup the Blood of Christ" with *Amen* again, and for both together "changing by the Holy Spirit," with a triple response of *Amen, Amen, Amen.* But this invocation is commonly unheard and unnoticed by those standing in the body of the church. Then at the mention of the Blessed Virgin, as especially commemorated, the choirs burst in with an anthem: "It is meet indeed to call thee Blessed, O *Deipara*, ever-blessed and all-immaculate, and mother of our God, more honourable than the cherubim and more glorious than the seraphim beyond compare, who with unimpaired virginity didst bear God the Word, we magnify thee as being truly the Mother of God." The Lord's Prayer, also, a little later, was sung by all the singers together, as if by the whole congregation; and after the Priest and the Deacon had received the Communion within, the Holy Doors were once more opened, and the Holy Mysteries

were shown by the Deacon to the people with this invitation: "With fear of God, and with faith draw near;" at which all either prostrated or made a low reverence, crossing themselves. And when there are communicants, this is the time for the Communion of the laity, who go up and receive a particle taken from the chalice with a spoon, one by one, standing, but in a reverent posture, immediately in front of the Holy Doors. Then the Priest put the *disk* or paten on the head of the Deacon, to carry it away to the side-altar; and the people, at this last showing of the Holy Gifts, made again an act of adoration by prostrating themselves or bowing low. Then the Priest came out, and said the final prayer in the church, in front of the people; and while the Deacon was consuming what remained of the Mysteries at the side-altar, the Priest distributed small squares of blessed bread called the *Antidoron* to the people, and so he gave with the Cross the final blessing, in which the prayers of all the saints, and those of St. John Chrysostom, St. Basil, and St. Gregory Theologus, by name, are always mentioned.

The sanctuary here is called *oltár*, the altar itself is called the *prestól* (the *throne*), or the *Holy Table*; the side altar of *prothesis*, at which the Offertory is made separately, before the commencement of the Liturgy, is commonly called the *jertvennik*, though

improperly, as this word (from *jertvo*, sacrifice) is a literal translation of the Greek θυσιαστήριον, and so should belong specially to the main altar or throne. This latter has a cross standing upon it and six candlesticks, and a tabernacle approached from behind, in which (in parish churches only) the Holy Communion, consecrated on Holy Thursday, is preserved for the sick. The "Lamb" then consecrated is smeared from the consecrated chalice, and afterwards dried, so that it may represent both kinds. It is then carefully crumbled, and in this state it is reserved. When it is needed for the sick, the Priest puts a crumb or two into the chalice, before administering with the spoon from the chalice, just as he does in ordinary Communion in the church.

CHAPTER XVII.

The commencement of Controversy.

ON this day the second Priest, Vassili, paid us a visit, and conversed with me in Latin. He asked, "Have you preserved the diaconate?" I answered, "Certainly we have. Without bishops, priests, and deacons there is no Church." He produced a Latin book, printed in England, by Thomas Burnet, "On the State of the Dead," which the author considered to be one of unconscious sleep, and "On the Duty of a Christian Man." In this it was said that "No form of Church government had been appointed of God, nor is of necessity; but that it is left variably according to the different circumstances, and preferences of states and kingdoms." "Many Anglicans," I said, "have so written, and still so write out of tenderness for the Lutherans and Calvinists; but here, in another place, this same author writes that 'The bishops have been sent by God to teach the nations, and that the Lord has promised to be with them in

teaching, even to the end of the world.' It is true that it is said very briefly, while the contrary opinion is set forth at length; but that opinion strikes at the very root of faith and of the Catholic Church." "Certainly it does," he replied.

To several questions and statements I proposed to him he either said at once, or, after a few words in Russ with a priest who had come with him, he replied, "Responsio deest, I am at a loss what to answer: this question has not been raised in our Church." And he went on to say, "All that sounds very well, but is it true that St. John Chrysostom has anywhere said that the natural substances remain in the Eucharist?"

"Certainly,"[1] I said, "he has." After hearing me attentively, he observed, "If St. John Chrysostom has said it, our Church, and we too, certainly say the same." He added, "The Russians have no good systematic theology of their own, but read the books of the Catholics, and those of the Lutherans and Calvinists. The doctrine of the Church, however, though undefined, is orthodox and she receives and venerates everything that has been delivered by the holy Fathers. And so we are

[1] [Mr. P. seems here to be referring to the famous Epistle to Cæsarius, which is ascribed to St. Chrysostom on the authority of St. John Damascene, Anastasius, and Nicephorus; but Le Quien and Montfaucon, men of critical minds, which the ancients were not, give various reasons from internal evidence in proof that it is not the writing of St. Chrysostom.]

freer than the Catholics." He meant seemingly that the latter have ruled and defined too much.

He spoke besides of the Russians holding Seven Sacraments as against the Protestants. He said also that Peter I. and Peter III. and Catharine II. had plundered the Church of her property.

August 16 to 26.—As Count Pratasoff was still absent, I stayed at Cronstadt, reading Mr. Blackmore's translations, and making acquaintance with at least the outsides or names of Russian books, to be bought and read afterwards. In the Appendix will be found a list of as many as forty-four works, besides the Synodal Collection of Fathers translated into Russ, sold in Petersburg and Moscow.

CHAPTER XVIII.

St. Metrophanes.

ONE of these days, when I was walking with Mr. Blackmore, he pointed out to me in a bookseller's shop a picture of St. Metrophanes, first bishop of Voronege on the Don, "whose incorrupted relics" (which is the Russian phrase[1] to express canoni-

[1] [If this means that, according to Russian theology, incorruption of body is the sufficient test and criterion of sanctity for canonization, it is contrary to the doctrine of Roman theologians and the practice of the Catholic Church. *Supr.* p. 81.

Cardinal Lambertini (Benedict. xiv.) thus writes, *de Canoniz. lib. iv. t.* 8, *edit.* 1790:—

"Writers on canonization commonly admit that the incorruption (as they speak) of a corpse is to be accounted a miracle, *in case* it is clear that the man, whose corpse is in question, was in his lifetime conspicuous for heroic virtues; and thus they consider they escape the difficulty arising from the fact that a great many bodies are found incorrupt, the owners of which, when living, were not adorned with heroic virtues; nay, were even stained with vices and sins. The teaching of St. Thomas is favourable to this view."—P. 185.

"In the beginning of 1729 the corpse of Lorenzo Salviati, who

zation) "were found in 1832." There is an official account of his life, miracles, and canonization, of which I make the following abridgment.

It begins by saying that "God is wonderful in His saints. With the grace of such gifts Russia has been adorned from her first reception of the faith to the present day."

Metrophanes was born in 1623, seemingly in the district of Vladimir, and was a secular priest, with the name of Michael. In 1663, having lost his wife, he became a monk, and was hegemon (head) first of the monastery of St. Cosmas at Yakroma, and then of the Troitsa at Galicho. In 1681, the Tsar Theodore called him to Moscow, and April 2, next year, he was consecrated first bishop of Voronege.

The formal document goes on to say, that in his first pastoral, while exhorting his clergy to diligence, he bids them attend carefully to the sick and dying, that they may not depart this life without the holy mysteries, nor be deprived of *extreme unction.* His use of this Latin term is remarkable, as it implies that, though

died in 1609, was found absolutely incorrupt, which led to a publication in which it was proved, by an accumulation of examples, that not in every instance is incorruption an evidence of sanctity, nor is to be accounted a miracle."—P. 188.

"[Some writers add] that that state of the body, by which a long resistance is made to corruption, can be [naturally] secured by spareness of living and austerity of life."—P. 189.]

not by origin from Little Russia, he had at some time or other been influenced by persons or by books from the Latin quarter. He left behind him, besides this pastoral, a testamentary address, and another MS. filled with passages from the funeral offices, the Scriptures, and the Fathers, showing his meditations on death, and his deep sense of the value of prayers for the departed. He rebuilt a portion of his cathedral of brick, it having hitherto been of wood, and was buried under its wall; but after a while all the building gave way, and thus it was that his sanctity was revealed. For the body having to be removed for a time, and then restored back again, on both translations to and fro, it was found to be incorrupt, and thence a rumour that Metrophanes was a saint.

As to the acts of his life, it is recorded that once when the Tsar Peter was building ships at Voronege in order to attack Azoff, Metrophanes, hearing that the works were suspended, gave 6000 roubles, all the money that he had by him or could raise, as a contribution to Peter, who on his returning from the war in triumph, bestowed on the bishop the title of Azoffsky. Another time, when works were suspended for want of pay, the bishop gave his imperial master 4000 roubles; and still on another occasion 3000, towards the payment of the troops, for which he received from Peter a letter of thanks.

However, when there was need, he did not shrink from withstanding the Tsar to his face, at any price. Peter had a house at the Bishop's See, and, in imitation of the western fashions, had set up about his dock-yard stone figures of heathen divinities. One day he sent word for the bishop to come to him; but the bishop, seeing these figures of naked, heathen gods and goddesses—Bacchus, Venus, &c.—turned back home. The Tsar sent again, and repeated his command that Metrophanes should come to him. The bishop replied, "Unless the Tsar orders the removal of those idols, the sight of which is a scandal, I cannot come to him." Peter flew into a passion, and sent a third time, with a threat, that, if he did not come at once, he would lose his head. The bishop replied, "My body is in the Tsar's hands, but there is a God, who can destroy both soul and body in hell; Him I fear. It would be better for me to die, than to fail in my duty in defending the orthodox faith;" and he began at once to prepare for the worst, and set the great bell of his church tolling as if for a coming death. The Tsar, startled at the first sound of the bell, finding on inquiry what was its meaning, burst into a laugh, saying, "I was not in earnest," and ordered the statues to be removed. Then the bishop came to him immediately, and thanked him both for having granted him his life, and still more for having

got rid of his idols. From that time Peter always showed him the utmost respect.

In his Testamentary Address composed before his death, Metrophanes exhorts "all the people to remain in the faith of their forefathers. The Orthodox Catholic Faith," he continues, "I charge them to love with all their souls; and to reverence the Holy Church, which is one throughout the universe, and to abide in her immovably, and to hold fast to the tradition and doctrine of the holy fathers, nor suffer it in any point to be tampered with or slighted. For, as without faith it is impossible to please God, so also without the Holy Eastern Church and her divinely delivered doctrine, it is impossible to be saved."

Then, addressing all, he asks forgiveness for himself, and implores them earnestly and repeatedly with tears to pray for his wretched and sinful soul. Before his death he received the Holy Viaticum and the great *schima* or habit. So he died, November 23, 1703, and the Tsar with his suite closed his eyes and carried the coffin into the church and to the place of burial.

CHAPTER XIX.

His claim and title to canonization.

THE official statement then observes:—"This confirmation of the faith and consolation of the Orthodox Church was needed in an age in which scandals, both in faith and in life, are produced in such quantity among peoples calling themselves enlightened, and in which the wind, that blows from abroad, wafts the seeds of the tares over the surface of our blessed country also. And blessed be God, who in renewed signs of His grace, has given such a confirmation to His faith, such consolation to His Church."

Thus we are carried on to the movement for the bishop's canonization. His memory had ever been kept up at Veronege till the present generation: *pannychids* (nightly services) were often sung for him. This, when it lasted, could only be explained by concluding that he was praying for those in heaven who prayed for him on earth; and in the course of a century the devotion to his tomb had become notable.

By 1820, those who thus honoured him, had become a great concourse, and miracles were reported. The discovery of the freedom of his body from corruption, in the years following on his death, could not have been forgotten, and in the year 1832 fresh repairs of the cathedral where he lay were the means of confirming it. This led to the Emperor's taking the matter up, to the Holy Synod's moving, to the original of the Testamentary Address being procured from Moscow, and to a commission, sworn to declare the truth, being appointed to make examination on the spot, both of the state of his body and the report of healings at his tomb.

The issue of the process may be anticipated. At the distance of 128 years from his death, in a vault of black moist earth, without a lid to the coffin, and only one board of it sound wood, the body was found entire; nor was the report concerning the healings less satisfactory. Then follow in the formal document the details of thirty-one cases of healings, exorcisms, &c., effected by Metrophanes, twenty-four of them being wrought on women, or girls. This justified the Synod in referring their judgment to the Emperor Nicholas, who wrote upon the report and memorial they presented to him, "I am of the same opinion with the Most Holy Synod." In consequence, with great pomp and ceremony, in the course of August and Sep-

tember, 1832, amid a crowd of 50,000 people, Metrophanes was added to the number of those prelates who have received the honour of canonization.

The official publication concludes thus:—"To the Lord God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, the King of Kings, &c., &c., be all glory and thanksgiving for ever and ever, Amen." And prefixed to the whole there is an engraving of the *icon* of Metrophanes, which had been painted partly from a much damaged portrait, partly from a dream.

In this official document we find the names of four bishops, Metrophanes of Voronege, Demetrius of Rostoff, Innocent of Irkutsk, and Tichon of Voronege and Zadovsk, who, having all lived and died under that spiritual supremacy of the civil ruler which had been established (in A.D. 1658, 1660, and 1666) by the Tsar Alexis Michaelovich, had three of them already (viz. by the year 1840) been at different times declared (by the Emperor or Empress for the time being, and by the Synod, or Church Commission, instituted by Peter,) to be saints. And a like canonization of the fourth was expected; for in A.D. 1840 I heard it said in conversation, by those who spoke of the recent canonization of Metrophanes, that Tichon Zadovski also, who died in the reign of Catharine II., was reported to be a saint, and there were stories current of his apparition

and miracles; and that some proposal had been made to the Emperor Nicholas for his canonization, but the Emperor had replied that one was enough, at least, for the present.[1]

Of all the four it may be admitted that they seem to have been good and pious men; and that the belief of their sanctity was of spontaneous popular growth, not by any means caused or suggested by the Synod, or by the civil Government. And at the same time, the Synod and the civil Government, in giving legal sanction to the popular belief, declare such continued production of saints down to the present day to be a Divine attestation of the continuance of spiritual life and orthodoxy in the present State Church of Russia.

Not only is the existing state of things (viz. the system of a Synod, or Church Commission, governing the Church under the Emperor, while the Emperor himself is head) alluded to, as if legitimate, in the depositions relating to the miraculous healings, but the four Saints themselves during their lives appear to have been unresisting subjects and servants of the secular supremacy.

[1] [Mr. Palmer adds that he was eventually canonized, under the Emperor Alexander II., in A.D. 1861.]

CHAPTER XX.

The Russian Saints viewed in their recognition of the Most Holy Synod.

THE Apostle says: "Though we or an angel from heaven preach to you any other gospel than that ye have received, let him be anathema." The Seventh Ecumenical Council expressly, and all the Councils and all the Fathers virtually repeat this denunciation; and the Russian Patriarch Nicon, on the Sunday of Orthodoxy in A.D. 1662, applied it to the then recent establishment of a civil supremacy over the Russian Church, anathematizing by name Pitirim, the first vicar of that supremacy, and in him all his successors, and the College or Synod or Church Commission to be instituted later, and all those who should communicate with them; and repeating with the same application words already embodied in the Greek and in the Slavonic Synodicon for the Sunday of Orthodoxy: "To all that has been done in the way of innovation contrary to the ecclesiastical tradition and doctrine, and to the constitutions of the holy and

laudable Fathers, *or that shall be done hereafter*" (that is, in fact, to the acts of A.D. 1666, 1700, and 1721, as well as to those of 1658 and 1660, to the institution of the Church Commission or Synod by Peter I., as well as to that of the personal vicariate of Pitirim, the act of the Tsar's father) "Anathema." And in his Replies, written in A.D. 1663, Nicon argues forcibly and at length that the State supremacy as then established, to say nothing of any ulterior development in time to come, if maintained and continued, was an *apostasy* even from Christianity itself, vitiating the whole body of the Russian Church from the least of its members to the greatest.

Now, in words and general phrases, not only the four modern Saints canonized by the Synod, but even the Synod itself, and the State of which it is vicegerent seem to agree with Nicon, and to bear witness against themselves. For they insist on the duty of adhering not only to Orthodoxy, which is a vague word, but also to all the canons and customs of the Church, and of the Holy Fathers. The Canons and the book itself of the Kormchay are still published as having authority: they are named, together with the Scriptures, as a rule for the Bishops in the *Spiritual Regulation*[1] of Peter the Great (the fundamental Statute

[1] ["The composition of a *Spiritual Regulation* for the guidance of the Governing Synod, was committed to Theophanes Procopovich, who made an accurate statement of the composition and object

of his State Church), and all the Bishops at their consecration still bind themselves by an oath to observe and maintain the Canons. But according to the showing of the Patriarch Nicon the whole law of God, the Scriptures themselves, and also the Canons are trampled under foot by the establishment of state supremacy in the Church; and it is impossible for those who are unresisting subjects and instruments of such a supremacy to obey or maintain the Canons. The Patriarch Nicon, who under the Tsar Alexis was ready to contend even to death, not only for abstract Orthodoxy, or for a general expression of respect for the Canons and the Fathers, but for each particular doctrine, and for each Canon in detail, had cried aloud: "It is not lawful to trample under foot Canon XXXIII. of the Apostles and Canon XII. of Antioch, and with them all the Scriptures, and the Councils, and the Fathers;" and for this he was not canonized, but degraded from

of such a Government, of the business which belonged to it, of the duties, operations and powers of its members, according to the forms of the Ancient Councils, and the rules of the Holy Fathers. . . . This important affair was carefully examined and discussed by a council convoked in the new capital at the commencement of the year 1721, and was witnessed by the [great functionaries in Church and State] after it had been signed and confirmed by the Tsar's hands. It was afterwards again subscribed by all the Bishops," &c., &c.—*Blackmore's Mouravieff*, p. 283.]

all priesthood, and kept a state prisoner under guard fifteen years, to the end of his life. And long afterwards in the time of Catharine II., when an Archbishop of Rostoff, Arsenius Matsievich, though born and bred under the ecclesiastical supremacy of the State, and himself a member of the Synod instituted by Peter I., still thought more of his oath to maintain the Canons than of his own uncanonical and untenable position, and dared to remonstrate against the final confiscation of the Church property as an act forbidden by the Canons, he was for this degraded by the Empress and her Synod to be a mere layman, and was kept all the rest of his life as a state prisoner in solitary confinement in a casemate in the fortress at Revel; and at his death the utmost care was taken that the people should know nothing about him, lest, if they did, they should regard him as a confessor.

But Metrophanes, Demetrius, Innocent, and Tichon, it was allowed to the people to venerate, till at length the people's veneration obtained their canonization. Their virtues, such as they were, were inoffensive, or rather useful; since they seemed to give a sort of respectability to all those uncanonical innovations in which they had acquiesced, or against which, at least, they had not practically contended. In the same way, if John the Baptist had been willing to say nothing about Herodias, Herod, no doubt, would have joined with all

the people in honouring John, and in regarding him as a Prophet.

In connexion with this subject I may refer to a letter of Philaret, Archbishop of Moscow, to Dr. Pinkerton, part of which the latter has inserted in his *Russia*, in defence of the Russian Church. In this letter, though he speaks of the Tsar Peter having changed the Patriarchal for the Synodal Government of the Church, the Archbishop makes no allusion to the constitution of the Synod, nor to the great question, which had already been virtually decided under the Tsar Alexis, whether there are *two* distinct powers, one spiritual and the other temporal, or only *one*. This question, however, is settled clearly in the "Spiritual Regulation," where the "popular error" of supposing that there are two powers is alleged as one chief reason why the former Patriarchal Government was superseded by the Collegiate. And in the code of Russian Law, published under the Emperor Nicholas, the same subject is treated without any ambiguity. In the present "Code of the Laws of the Russian Empire," and in the "Extract from the Code of the enactments relating to the Spiritual Government of the Orthodox Confession," by M. Theodore Maliutin (ed. 1859), the present relations of the Church and State in Russia are defined as follows:—

1. "The first-in-rank and dominant Faith in the

Russian Empire is the Christian, Orthodox, Catholic, of the Eastern Confession" (vid. vol. i. Fundam. Imp. Laws, § 40).

2. "The Emperor, as a Christian Sovereign, is the Supreme Defender and Guardian of the dogmas of the Dominant Faith, and the Preserver of Orthodoxy and of all good Order in the Holy Church. In this sense the Emperor is called the Head of the Church" (ib. § 42).

3. "In the government of the Church the *autocratic power acts through* the Most Holy Governing or Directing Synod instituted by it" (ibid. § 45).

4. "The original design of laws proceeds either from special intention and direct command of His Supreme Majesty, or it arises out of the ordinary course of affairs, when, during the consideration of them in the Governing Senate, in the Most Holy Synod, and the Ministries, it is considered necessary either to explain and supplement any existing Law, or to draw up a new enactment. In this case these different authorities *subject* their projects, according to the established order, *to the Supreme judgment of His Majesty*" (ibid. § 49).

CHAPTER XXI.

Ancient Rite of Coronation.

AUGUST 22 [o.s.].—Anniversary of the coronation of the present Emperor, in 1826, a State holiday.

The Emperor Nicholas is the third sovereign of the existing dynasty, for between the deaths of Peter I. and Catharine II. there was no dynastic law of succession, but a series of revolutions; and Paul, who crowned himself at Moscow, April 3, A.D. 1797, and at the same time promulgated a statute fixing the imperial succession, was the founder of a new dynasty.

That change by which the spiritual power derived from the Apostles was suppressed in Russia, or transferred (so far as it was possible to transfer it) to the Crown, has naturally produced alterations and omissions in the form and ceremonies used both in the election and consecration of bishops, and in the coronation of sovereigns. The present anniversary affords

a proper occasion for stating the changes which have been made in the form and order of a coronation.

The first coronation is that of the Emperor Leo (A.D. 487), who was crowned by the Patriarch or Archbishop of Constantinople, Anatolius. A profession or engagement—but at first less full than it became afterwards—was required of Anastasius, the fourth successor of Leo, by the Patriarch Euthymius, before he would crown him, Anastasius being suspected of Macedonianism. In like manner the Patriarch Cyriacus, demanded guarantees of Phocas (A.D. 606). Afterwards this became a fixed custom. And in the earliest Russian forms the substance and spirit is the same, though there is not the same precise form of requisition, nor the same *written* engagement.

In the older Greek forms the Emperor, on the requisition originally of the Patriarch of Constantinople, professed and promised this:—"I, N. Emperor, do accept, confess, and confirm the Apostolic and divine traditions; also the constitutions and definitions of the ecumenical and the local councils. I recognize all the rights and customs (*προνόμια καὶ ἔθιμα*) of the most holy great Church of God (i.e. of the Catholic Church, and in particular of the Patriarchal Church of Constantinople). I consent to all that has legitimately, canonically, and irrevocably been decreed and determined at different places and times, by our holy Fathers. I

promise to continue constantly a faithful son of the holy Church, and to be her defender and protector, &c. &c.

"And all that the holy Fathers have rejected and anathematized I also reject and anathematize with all my heart and soul.

"For the performance of all this I give my word before the holy Catholic Church, and at this date I have subscribed this with my own hand, and have given it to my most holy lord N. the Ecumenical Patriarch and to the holy Synod."

A like engagement to this was required by the Russian Metropolitan of Novgorod, Nicon, in A.D. 1652, as a condition before he would consent to become Patriarch of Moscow; and it was given, or rather repeated verbally, and ratified by an oath, in the cathedral of the Assumption by the Tsar Alexis Michaelovich and all his court.

According to the law of Christ, as a bishop or a priest baptizing a man does this by virtue of his spiritual mission and order, and the man baptized shows a voluntary submission to the bishop or priest, submitting himself to the law of Christ, so also aforetime, when the bishop crowned and consecrated a Tsar, or Emperor, he did this by virtue of his order; and in the same act the Tsar showed a voluntary submission to the bishop.

In the Old Testament, kings were anointed before-

hand to the kingdom by the prophets of God; and in the Psalms it is said of Christ himself, "Thou shalt anoint him with the oil of gladness, and thou shalt set a crown of pure gold upon his head." Following this order, the Patriarch or Bishop aforetime anointed the Tsar, or Emperor, first, and crowned and installed him afterwards. But now, the Russian Emperor crowns himself without grace first, and causes the creatures and instruments of his usurped spiritual supremacy to anoint him with oil, without grace or meaning, afterwards. The ancient form was this :—

In the Liturgy, before the Τρισάγιον, the Emperor being seated in the nave of the church on one raised platform or ambon, and the Patriarch on another, the Patriarch sent and called the Emperor to him "to receive grace;" and then he began to read the prayers for anointing, some secretly and some aloud (which prayers are quoted, or written out, by Nicon in his "Vozranjenia," p. 242—245). And the Emperor came down from his own platform, and went up the steps of the platform of the Patriarch, and stood there before him, bending his head; and the Patriarch, putting his hand upon the Tsar's head, said the two prayers which shall be spoken of directly.

CHAPTER XXII.

Modern Rite of Coronation.

SO it was once; but now, according to the after-form used at the coronation of the Emperor Paul, there is only one raised platform, on which the Emperor sits alone in the centre of the nave of the church, a carpet being laid thence up to the Holy Doors, and the members of the Synod (who may, or not, be bishops), and the bishops, stand below on either side of this carpet, *vis-à-vis* to one another. So the Emperor sits exactly as a patriarch or primate would sit at the head of his clergy, and shows himself visibly in the church as Head of the Church and of the so-called Synod and of all the clergy.

Two bishops go up the steps of the Emperor's platform and address him, in an involved style, to this effect:—Since by the providence of God, and by the operation of the Holy Ghost, and by your own will, your Imperial Majesty is now to be *Anointed* and

Crowned, will you be pleased, according to the former custom, to confess in the hearing of your loyal subjects the Orthodox Catholic Faith?" And the Emperor thereupon reads the Creed, having himself, of his own free will (as will appear below), enacted that the Sovereign of Russia is to profess the Creed of the Græco-Russian Church, because he is the Head of the Church. But of respecting all the laws of the Church and her rights and customs, and abiding always a dutiful *son* of the Church, there is not a word.

Formerly the Patriarch anointed the Emperor, or Tsar, thrice; saying each time *Holy!* (Ἅγιος). And then he set the crown on his head; and after that he led him to the Imperial place, and installed, or enthroned him. But now the Emperor sends for the regalia, and is assisted, ministerially, by the members of the Synod, or bishops, as he takes them and puts them on himself. They "minister to him in putting them on." And in particular, he takes the crown and puts it on to his own head; the metropolitan or bishop saying: "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." And adding "This is as a sign that the *Christ* invisibly crowns thee."

The sceptre and globe are given to the Emperor by the bishop—that is, ministerially—and he takes them in the same way as he took from them the crown, though as the sceptre and the globe are to be held in

the hands which take them, he cannot show visibly, as he did with the crown, that he acknowledges in them no separate or independent power through which he is to receive grace from Christ.

Having crowned himself, the Emperor also crowns his Empress; and she, too, is assisted ministerially to put on the Imperial robes.

Aforetime the Emperor, having received, besides other Imperial robes, one clerical vestment, making him a "*Deputatus*" of the Church, went up as Deputatus to the north side-door, and led the procession at the Great Introit, and after that he took off from him the vestments denoting the quality of Deputatus, and he remained in his Imperial robes only; but now, on the contrary, that the Emperor has become Head of the Church, and source of all Spiritual jurisdiction, and Supreme Judge of his own creation, for the most holy Spiritual Synod to make him a *Deputatus* only would clearly be unsuitable. He therefore does not lead the procession at the Great Introit.

But there are in the present form additions as well as omissions. Such are two prayers unknown to the older forms, and used first at the coronation of the Empress Anna Ivanovna. These are to be said aloud, the first of them by the Emperor or Empress, the second by the bishop. The bishop who first said aloud the prayer was Theophanes Procopovich. In both of

these prayers all mention of the Church is avoided and it is implied that the Emperor or Empress is sole governor under God of both Church and State united in one body.

According to the old forms the Emperor or Tsar at the proper time for the Communion of the laity went up, and was communicated over an antimense set at a pillar *outside* the sanctuary. But according to the present form he is pleased to go up to the Holy Doors, and there is anointed, and in like manner the Empress. And after that he is conducted by two metropolitans *within* the sanctuary, and there communicated before the laity, contrary to the old forms.

Lastly, they brought to the newly-crowned Emperor, in one hand ashes or dust and bones, and in the other a little fine flax, which, being lighted, flared up and was consumed in a moment. And they showed him some specimens of marbles, and asked him which he would choose for his tomb. But the Emperor Paul, after being so crowned by himself as has been above related, after the Liturgy, read aloud publicly in the church that Act regulating the Imperial Succession by which the present dynasty was founded, placed it upon the altar of God, where, or behind which, it is still preserved, in which run the words which he had just before read out aloud, that the Sovereign of Russia is always to profess the creed of the Græco-Rus-

sian Church "*because* he is the Head of the Church." [1]

It was for this Emperor's coronation that the present Imperial crown of Russia was made.

[1] [Mr. Palmer was so learned in the matters treated of in these chapters, and so accurate in his statements, that I do not feel it necessary to add the references which might be required of another writer.]

CHAPTER XXIII.

Preliminary interview with Count Pratasoff.

SUNDAY, August 25 [o.s.], I returned to Petersburg, and on the following Tuesday I saw the Ober-Procuror Count Pratasoff, and presented to him two letters of introduction. He asked if I had any other letters; and on hearing of the one from Dr. Routh, he desired me to give that to him, as he represented the Emperor with the Synod, and in some respects he was also the servant of the Synod, alluding to the Greek Great Logothete; and it would be his duty to lay it before the bishops (though not even the majority of the members of the Synod are necessarily bishops). He read it, and when he came to the last part desiring for me the Communion, he exclaimed, "C'est bien fort." He said, "Your ambassador writes here in his note that you wish to learn Russian, and to become a member of the Greek Church." "That is a mistake," I said, and explained.

"What you say," he said, "is quite new to me.

Respecting the Procession, it is not only true, as you observe, that the Greeks communicated with the Latins for some time after the Latin doctrine had been heard of, but that inter-communion was repeatedly renewed even after the Latins had been anathematized by Photius. However, I am not a theologian, but a soldier. And yet, having been brought so much among the clergy, I cannot help knowing something about such matters. And if I were a bishop, I should ask you first about doctrine, and about the Creed; and if you spoke of coming to us, as you might have come 1000 or 800 years ago, still, there have been such divisions in the West since, and so many questions have been raised there which never came formally before us, that I should require some farther examination and agreement." "That is quite reasonable," I replied. "Well, then," he continued, "what would you say about the Sacraments?" *Answer.* "About the Eucharist, I say that the bread is changed into, and becomes, and is, the very Body of Christ spiritually and supernaturally, without ceasing to be still physically, in the order of nature, bread; wherein we deny the *Roman* doctrine of Transubstantiation. And I have noticed that in the Russian version of the XVIII. Articles of the Synod of Bethlehem of A.D. 1672, the concession of these two correlative terms 'substance' and 'accidents' has disappeared; nor is the word

'accidents' admitted in the Russian Catechism; so that neither of those two Russian documents is at all inconsistent with orthodox doctrine."

He seemed surprised at my knowing of the change that had been made in the wording of the XVIII. Articles of Bethlehem, but admitted that the fact was so. He then said: "There may possibly be shades of difference (*nuances*) between churches on a subject so entirely beyond our understanding; but for myself, without pretending to speak positively, I think that the Greek Church agrees (that is, agrees unreservedly) with the Roman doctrine. There is a difference in *this*, that the Greeks make the invocation of the Holy Ghost, and not the bare repetition of Christ's words, to complete the consecration. Then there is Confession," —to which I made no objection. Then he spoke of the *Icons*, and thought it very liberal in me not to call him an idolater; "for that," said he, "is the common calumny, though they don't call us idolaters for bowing to the Emperor, or even to the Emperor's picture." "However, as regards the decree of the Second Nicene Council," I said, "we reject it, as did nearly all the West at the beginning." "No," he objected, "the Popes from the first received it, and still receive it." "Yes," I replied, "but it was condemned, in spite of their reception of it, all over Germany, France, and Britain; and as a matter of private opinion, I prefer

the judgment of my own Church, and regard that custom as inexpedient, at least in England, and liable to abuse." He admitted that it might be abused (as almost everything else may be abused, and is abused); and soon afterwards, on my saying, apologetically, that in things not essential it is necessary and inevitable for us to yield much to popular ignorance and prejudice, to abuses and shortcomings in practice, and to corruptions and distortions of religious feeling and opinion, he answered: "Ah! you may conceive that we, too, in Russia are obliged to do that, as well as you in England."

Then he spoke of the Seven Sacraments; and he would not let me distinguish the two chief sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist from the other five, saying, "Our Church knows no such distinction, but puts them all absolutely together."

"But," he said, "you have a chaplain here, and another at Cronstadt: do they agree with you? And my wife has with her an English *bonne* or companion, a good woman enough. I shall have something to talk about to them, as this is all new to me. If such are really the doctrines of the Anglicans, how is it that you do not teach them to the people? Or how is it that the English here, if they have not a minister or pastor of their own, will go anywhere, especially to the church of the Calvinists, who do not believe even in

the divinity of our Lord? Whereas *we* should think that about the same thing as to go and pray with the Mohammedans."

He went on: "We, too, have had a Calvinistic or Protestant spirit among us, which Platon" (really Theophanes Procopovich, in the time of Peter I.) "began: Philaret (the present Metropolitan of Moscow) was somewhat that way inclined; and especially Michael, the late Metropolitan of Kieff. But this has all been corrected, and now there is an orthodox reaction. We said to the Metropolitan of Moscow, that if he wished to show himself a good Christian, and humble, he would, with the assistance of his brethren, retouch and correct his own former Catechism; and this he did, correcting it, and filling up his former omissions."

He said: "If you live among the clergy, you must not judge of all the 40,000 from those you may see here at Petersburg, for here there are 70,000 Lutherans, Germans, and others, and Lutheran pastors; and our clergy, some of them, get liberalized. But for the pure and ancient Greek orthodoxy, you should go into the interior."

Then returning to the doubt he had expressed before, he asked, "Do you mean to tell me that the *bishops* in England hold and teach such doctrine as you have now been professing? I will not ask if there are any among them who are heretics or heretically inclined.

I know you must have such: *we* have such, even here."

He said: "In admitting strangers to Communion the ordinary course is, first, to ask and ascertain whether the person has been baptized, and validly baptized? Next, whether he has been confirmed or christened? If so, then a very slight ceremony is used for reconciliation. But recently, in the case of the Uniats, nearly 2,000,000 in number, a great step was made; they were all received *en masse*, on merely repeating the Creed after the Greek form, and acknowledging that Jesus Christ *alone* is the head of the Church" (that is in contrast with the Pope). "And this seems to have had a good effect on the minds of many Catholics, and to have set them upon desiring unity" (that is unity with the Eastern church) "it being so easy. Not long ago a French priest wrote to ask on what terms he could be received, as he wished to be *Catholic* (Catholic-Eastern) without being under the Pope."

I said: "I cannot understand, nor approve, of a French priest acting so; but it seems that he felt himself burdened by some Roman decrees or decisions, from which he thought he might be free in the Greek Communion."

CHAPTER XXIV.

Issue of the interview.—Mr. Palmer's letter for the Emperor.

I COMPLAINED that the Russians seem to have the same faults as we have, viz. that of not thinking of the whole body, nor striving for its reunion, but calling the Papists Catholics just as we do, and themselves Eastern or Græco-Russian, and hesitating about the Western Church, neither distinctly recognizing it as a *part* of the whole body, nor distinctly and consistently anathematizing it as heretical. He said that they had struck out of all recent publications, by the Emperor's desire, the designations *Greek* and Græco-Russian, and the like, and had put in the word Catholic (*Capholic*) instead wherever they could. "Still," I said, "you have not done enough: and though '*Orthodox-Catholic*' has nothing amiss in it, '*Eastern-Catholic*' or 'Catholic-Eastern' involves as much weakness as '*Greek*' or '*Græco-Russian*,' or Anglican. The truth, orthodoxy, and the Church are all *universal*, and can be

no more connected with the *East* than they can with *England.*" I observed to him that he had himself more than once in this present conversation called the Papists "*Catholics.*" He smiled, and said that he used the word in French and German as it is popularly used, for the Latins or Roman-Catholics. "But we too," he said, "have the same Greek word, καθολικὴ, of which the French *Catholique* is a modification; and we have ever used it as belonging to the Orthodox Church. But in Russian this word is written and pronounced *Capholic;* and by this word, so written and pronounced, nobody understands the Latins, nor applies it to them; but they, until recently, were always called the 'Latins:' and now, if in conversation or writing they are often called *Catolics* or *Roman-Catolics*, still the word *Catolic*, so written and pronounced, is purely foreign, and equivalent to *Western* or *Latin*, French, German, or Italian.[1] No one would ever think of applying it to the Orthodox Church, or to her members."

He was very attentive to all I said on this subject,

[1] [What St. Cyril and other Fathers say is, that the very word "Catholic" is, (as if by a divine provision) a discriminating epithet of the true Church, for popular guidance, before going to consider its meaning, in a way, therefore, which is not fulfilled by the word "Universal," "Ecumenical," or "Capholic." If in London Count Pratasoff had to ask the way to his Emperor's church, he would not ask for the Catholic or Capholic church, but for the Russian or Greek. *Capholic* is as local as *Russian* is, and far less intelligible. It is not in the Creed.]

though he did not seem to go along with me when I distinguished between the original Apostolical Churches of Rome and Italy, France, Spain, &c., and schismatical Romanizing communities which have separated from older Apostolical Churches, whether in England or in the East; nor did he see the dangerous consequence of allowing "Churches" and "Religions" to be constituted only by identity of secondary doctrines and opinions, not to say even mere rites, without reference to the right of jurisdiction, and so admitting the whole Roman-Catholic unity to be homogeneous, and all equally valid or invalid.

He complained of Roman *ambition*, as the Pope would still be the *first Patriarch* if *unity* were restored: but he is not content with that, and must be absolute Head.

He asked whether I had ever sought Communion on the same principles from any Latin bishops, and what had been their answer. "They told me," I replied, "that they must follow the custom, which is to regard the Greeks as schismatics and the Anglicans as heretics, and to recognize as absolutely one with themselves those whom I call Romanizing schismatics in Britain and in the East. They also said that an opinion asserting the Greeks and the Anglicans still to form part of the visible Church, and so reopening all those questions which have been decided, either by Rome alone, or by

the Greeks alone, or by the Anglicans alone, is, to say the least, extremely temerarious and tending to schism, so that a Catholic holding such an opinion could scarcely obtain the sacraments."

He said, "Protestantism has only the Bible, but the Church adds the authority of *her tradition.*" I answered, "Quite true." "What then?" he exclaimed; "is yours a dogmatical Church, having fixed doctrine?" *Answer:* "Of course it is, else it could not pretend to be Orthodox, Catholic, and Apostolic." He asked over and over again: "If that be true, how can it be that it is so little known? Why do you not forbid your people to pray with the Lutherans and the Calvinists? Why do you not make Catechisms, and teach distinctly your doctrine?" *Answer:* "At any rate, if there is any good in the Church of England, it must come out and show itself now: for since the admission of Protestant Dissenters and Irish Papists into Parliament (in 1828 and 1829) the axe has been laid at her root as a mere establishment." "That is quite just," he said.

He desired me to write him a letter, in any language I pleased, stating what I wished, and he said, "I will have it translated. The Court will be back here in ten or twelve days, and then I can show it to the Emperor when I next make my report, or refer to it and take his pleasure. In the mean time, as your intentions seem to be good, and what you are doing is uncommon, we will

do what we can to help you. I doubt about your living in the Academy, though certainly the white or secular clergy have less instruction than the black; but we will see. If you will come to-morrow at one o'clock to the Synod, I will present you to my colleague, M. Mouravieff, the Unter-Prokuror, who, though also a layman, is a young man of great information in ecclesiastical matters. It is only our duty to do what we can for you, as unity is the duty of the Church, and we all pray for it."

Previously he had said of the idea of living in the Lavra itself that there might be awkwardness, as the thing was so new and unusual. On the one hand, they would not know what to think if they saw me not doing like themselves; and on the other, there might be rules and restraints which would not suit me. I said: "As to the mode of life, you need be under no scruple for me, as I am not particular; and as for rules and practices, I am ready to conform to whatever may be desired, so long as there is nothing (and I cannot conceive that there should be anything) incapable of being done in a good and Christian sense." He smiled and said: "It will be best not to be in too great a hurry, but to wait a little, that we may see our way."

According to his desire I wrote in Latin the same day to Count Pratasoff a letter, the chief part of which was as follows:—

"EXCELLENCY,

"You ask why I have come to Russia, and what it is I wish to obtain from the Emperor's grace? I reply thus: After having become a Fellow of Magdalen College in the University of Oxford, I thought that in no way could I better obey the statutes of our founder, or prepare for that ecclesiastical and academical life which was before me, or better serve the needs of the particular British Church in which I had been baptized, than by travelling abroad, while yet young, and examining carefully those theological questions which have caused such disastrous and long-standing divisions between the Apostolical Churches. For, since I well knew that I had been baptized, not into any English, or Roman, or Western, or Eastern, but into a Catholic or Ecumenical faith, religion, and Church, while I saw this Catholic and Apostolic body, according to that definition of it which I had received from my immediate Mother, the particular British Church, separated into different, and (what is horrible to think of) into hostile communions, therefore it seemed desirable to know exactly the truth about those accusations which are commonly made by foreigners against ourselves, and that not only by reading controversial books written by our own people, but also by hearing with my ears opposite parties, and further to obtain as exact a knowledge as possible of

the theology of the other Apostolical Churches, that so, with God's help, I might later in life, while devoting myself to the study of books, be better furnished and better able to treat of controversies in the University of Oxford, with the hope and aim, that, when the causes of difference and hostility come to be more exactly understood, those mutual suspicions, and even perhaps errors of opinion in non-essential matters (for I speak not of the necessary faith itself) might more easily be mitigated and done away; and in a word, that there might be a better treatment of those questions, from the clearing up of which, either in our own time or in that of our descendants, the most desirable unity of the Church may be restored.

"So when with these views I had first, beginning in 1833, visited more than once the churches of the Latins on the Continent, and had made myself acquainted with their theology (that is, the doctrines of the Pope of Rome, to whom they are subject), I next examined the opinions of the Calvinists and Lutherans. And now with the approval of the President of my college, I have come to the Eastern, and in particular to the Russian Church.

"I humbly ask the favour of the Emperor for my undertaking; that he be pleased to recommend me to the venerable clergy of his empire, in order that living in the Spiritual Academy, or in some monastery, or

under some bishop, or otherwise, according as may be judged most convenient, I may, with the help and in the society of ecclesiastics, learn the Russian language, and study the doctrines, discipline, and ritual of the Church. If this request is granted, I hope that hereafter by translating Russian books into English, I may do something towards promoting in England, and especially in the University of Oxford, a fuller and more accurate knowledge of the Apostolical Churches of the Easterns; towards strengthening by the contemplation of Eastern Catholicism our own Churches, which are now attacked at once by the Papists and by the heretical Protestants, and no longer exclusively defended as before by the State; and finally, by softening prejudices and antipathies, towards the healing of the present cruel dismemberment of the Catholic Church and the reunion of the whole body in mutual love. . . . .

"Having heard that there are in the Spiritual Academy at Petersburg some who read English, I have brought a selection of books, of the works of our best divines, as an offering to the library of the Academy. Some of these have been given on purpose by their authors, who are still living, and members of the University of Oxford, and who, knowing my intention, wished to show that they work and pray not only for their own people, nor only for Westerns, but for their

Eastern brethren also, and for the whole ecumenical Church.

"As regards myself personally, I think it right to add, that from the time I have come within the dioceses of the Russian bishops, I recognize no other church as true and legitimate in these countries, nor adhere in will at least, to any other jurisdiction than theirs. Not as if I came from any heresy or schism seeking to be reconciled by the Church of God which is in Russia, but being a Catholic Orthodox Christian, as I trust, and coming from a Catholic and Orthodox and Apostolical Church, I seek from the legitimate and canonical bishops of the country, in whatever country I may be, and from each one of them in his own diocese, the common right of communion.

"This is the answer I have to make to your Excellency; and to your discretion, and to the Emperor's gracious favour, I commend my request, praying to our Lord Jesus Christ for nothing else but that which may conduce to the peace and concord not only of all the Churches, but also of all Christian States.—I am your Excellency's most humble and obedient servant, &c., &c.

"Petersburg, August 27 [o.s.], 1840."

CHAPTER XXV.

Interviews with M. Mouravieff and the Archpriest Koutnevich.

WEDNESDAY, August 28 [o.s.]. I went at 1 p.m. to the Synodal Palace, and was there presented to M. Mouravieff, a tall, indeed gigantic man for a cavalry officer, and needing a strong horse to carry him. In reply to his expressions of surprise and doubt, like those of Count Pratasoff, I said—Whatever dangers there may be ahead for the Anglican Church, Protestantism is no longer one of them; that monster is now dead. And in this respect we may even benefit the Russians and Greeks, who now use, too often, either Popish or else Lutheran and Calvinistic books, and among whom a desire to be spiritual rather than formal or superstitious has produced a Protestantizing tendency, of which they do not know the danger. *We* know it by long and sad experience; and we are now at length finding even in the free use of the Bible itself the antidote to the abuse of the Bible. He said

that they had such a tendency as I spoke of, but it was now corrected.

As to the Holy Eucharist, he admitted that the Latins had had great indirect, and sometimes also direct, influence in the Levant, between the capture of Constantinople and the end of the seventeenth century, and that there were some manifest Latinisms in the XVIII. Articles of Bethlehem of A.D. 1672, which have been omitted or corrected in the recently-published Russian translation. And yesterday, when Count Pratasoff had shown me in the Full Catechism of the Russian Church a passage taken in substance from the XVIII. Articles of Bethlehem, but disclaiming all intention of defining the manner of the change in the Eucharist, and I had remarked that the fact of adopting in the Catechism of this disclaimer without inserting also those correlative terms of "substance" and "accidents" which are found together with the same disclaimer in the XVIII. Articles, showed that the Russian Synod thought those Latin terms to be too like a definition, he admitted that this was altogether a scholastic question.

M. Mouravieff had not observed another very delicate correction of a passage which went too near the Romish Purgatory; but he admitted that they had corrected their incautious admissions of the Tridentine Canon of the Holy Scriptures; and had omitted a

question and answer which denied that the laity were free to read them. "Yes," he said, "we made some alterations, and corrected some things which were not in conformity with the doctrine of our Church; nor, indeed, with that of the Greek Fathers." He asked, with apparent surprise, how I came to know of this?

In the meantime Count Pratasoff had shown that Latin letter which I, by his desire, had written to him, and which has been given above, to the Archpriest Vasili Koutnevich, High Almoner of the Army and Fleet. He ranks last of the eight members of the Synod, and so has always to give his opinion first on any matter brought before it. Count Pratasoff now came with him out of the room in which the Synod sits for business, and presented me to him. We conversed for a short time in Latin. He said he had read Dr. Routh's letter, and my letter to Count Pratasoff; and after some other words he said, "If any one would be admitted to Communion in the Sacraments, he must believe all that the Orthodox *Eastern* Church believes."

"All," I replied, "that the Catholic or Ecumenical Church, and not that the particular *Western* or *Eastern*, or other local Church requires to be believed."

"He must profess," the Archpriest repeated, "the same faith with the *Eastern* Church."

Answer.—"I do profess, I hope, the same faith with

the *Eastern* Church; for the Catholic faith is one, whether in the West or in the East, and if there is not an agreement between the Eastern and the Western Churches in the essential faith, either the one side or the other must be heretical. But I trust that I, and the Church from which I come, are Orthodox and Catholic; and we suppose the Churches of the Easterns to be Orthodox and Catholic: consequently, the British Church supposes that there is no disagreement respecting the necessary faith between herself and the Orientals.

Archpriest.—"If you hold the faith and Creed of the Eastern Church, you may be admitted to Communion. But first, do you believe the Creed of Nicæa and Constantinople? *Answer.*—Certainly I do. *Archpriest.*—The Trinity? the Divinity of the Son? and the Incarnation? *Answer.*—Certainly.

Archpriest.—But what do you say about the Procession of the Holy Ghost? *Answer.*—I receive all that the Latin Fathers have said, no less than all that the Greek Fathers have said. I know that there has been a verbal difference between some of the ancient Fathers of the two languages, but there was in all of them one and the same faith. We cannot absolutely condemn the words, "And from the Son," without condemning some of the Latin Fathers, which we are so far from doing that we rather, on the contrary,

believe the Greeks to have agreed virtually with them, though they use a different form of speech. But as regards the mere question of form, we may confess that the Pope of Rome ought not to have altered, by any interpolation even of orthodox words, the Creed of the Ecumenical Councils. And this at first the Pope himself, Leo III., said. The same Pope, however, allowed that the sense of the words was Orthodox, and might be taught. We are far from requiring the Greeks to insert the "Filioque;" and therefore I am ready to recite with them in their churches the Creed without the addition."

When I said that the Pope had not a right to alter the form determined by the Ecumenical Councils, he smiled approvingly; but without continuing, he said: "We will talk of this more fully some other time;" and he invited me to come and see him at his own house.

I said that such a primacy of divine right as was proposed by the Doctors of the Sorbonne to Peter the Great may be admitted for the Pope, if only the same limitation of its exercise be allowed: for the whole organization of the Catholic Church was from the Spirit of God: consequently the preeminence of all the great sees (of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch), and especially that of the first see was of divine right: and there are many signs of a divine institution. Count Pratasoff and M. Mouravieff agreed, saying: "Yes, yes—cer-

tainly; as the precedence of Alexandria also and of Antioch may be said to be of divine right. But if we stretch that divine right too far, and make the definition of the Church to depend on the *will* of the Pope, there is an end to all those *liberties* which the Councils *so jealously guarded* as based upon the will of Christ." They said: "If the Pope would be contented with what is his due, he would always be the first of Patriarchs: nobody could take from him what he has: nay, his influence, his legitimate influence, would be *all the greater*."

I spoke of the position which the Greek Church might occupy, and of the duty of interfering to restore the peace of the whole Church. In old times every bishop knew himself to share the responsibility of the government of the universal Church; and they wrote letters, and sent messengers, and went themselves from one end of the world to the other, to take part in questions arising there, or to seek assistance for themselves: whereas now we English and you Greeks maintain indeed the doctrine of the universal visible unity, but in practice we both rest contented with our own *part*, which consequently can with difficulty, and only by the help perhaps of the civil government, maintain ourselves even against a false theory of Catholic unity (the Roman) which does actively embrace the whole world."

They invited me to be present at the Liturgy in the Nefsky Lavra on Friday next, the 30th, the anniversary of the Peace of Nystadt, of the Translation of the Relics of St. Alexander Nefsky in A.D. 1724, and the name's-day of the hereditary Grand Duke.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Prince Alexander Galitsin, Grand Master of Requests.

THE same day on board the Cronstadt steamer I sat next to a Russian, who spoke to me in good English. He was going down with his son, a lad of nineteen, who was about to start on his first voyage, a voyage round the world. He had known well, he said, the late Count Joseph De Maistre. He was a very nice old man, but very bigoted. He tried to introduce the use of a new name or nickname, "the *Photian* Church," instead of the "Greek" or "Eastern Church." He (the speaker) had been in Spain, and had observed great fanaticism there; and he thought that there was a deep mixture of political ambition in the Papal Communion. He admitted that there had been a Protestantizing spirit in some of the Russian divines, mentioning Philaret of Moscow as having been foremost in showing that tendency. But it has now been checked. He praised Consett's book (the trans-

lation of the Spiritual Regulation,[1] &c.). He spoke of himself as possessing a pretty good library of English books. He observed that the Bishops in England have been too much enslaved by the State since the time of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth; and he regretted that Protestantism which mars so much that is good in the English character. He admitted that Latin influences had prevailed extensively in the Levant since the fall of Constantinople, and had tinged, on points not controverted, many Greek writings; and he was aware that the XVIII. Articles of the Synod of Bethlehem of A.D. 1672 have been corrected in some points in the Russian translation of them recently published by the Synod.

As I was speaking of my purpose in coming to Russia, he said that a year or more ago he had seen a memorial, which had been presented either to the Grand Duke Alexander the Heir Apparent, or to the Emperor at the Russian Embassy in London. This is what I had myself presented at Oxford in A.D. 1839, and it had found its way in due course to the person who now spoke of it, Prince Alexander Galitsin (not the same as had been Minister in the last reign and President of the Bible Society), as he was the Grand Master of the Requests.

He asked whether I had any introduction, and to

[1] [*Vid. supr.* p. 101, note.]

whom? and said that the introduction to Count Pratasoff was the very best I could have. He said that the Russian clergy have been reduced too low in society by the acts of Peter I., Peter III., and Catharine II., and that they are not sufficiently independent, especially in the country. A commission has lately been employed in collecting information as to the position and maintenance of the clergy in other countries of Europe, and it is intended to do something to raise their condition; and there is certainly, he added, a great deal doing to improve their education.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Mr. Palmer's first controversial Discussion with the Archpriest.—The Divine Procession.

AUGUST 31 [o.s.].—I visited the Archpriest Koutnevich. He returned to the Procession of the Holy Ghost, and said that the Latins might with equal justice infer that the Son must be from the Father and the Holy Ghost, as that the Holy Ghost was from the Father and the Son. "But that," I said, "would be to deny or reverse the relative order of the Persons." I said also, "In condemning the Latin doctrine, you seem to condemn those Latin Fathers who held it before the schism." "Those Latin Fathers," he replied, "spoke only of a Procession from the Son *in time*, and *to* the creatures," alluding perhaps to the explanation given at Rome to St. Maximus the Martyr, and to his words, "missionem nimirum Processionem intelligentes." I answered, "That does not seem to us true either of the Greek Fathers or of the Latin; and, whatever individuals or particular Churches

may think, the difference between Latins and Greeks on this point can only be authoritatively settled by an Ecumenical Council. In the meantime there has actually been union at different times during 200 years, even after this controversy had commenced."

I showed him my Latin Introduction to the XXXIX. Articles, and he read over at once those parts of it which treated of the Procession, of Transubstantiation, of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, and of *Icons*. At p. 78 (Latin), he read thus :[1]—"As regards the faith in the Holy Ghost, like reflections may be made. For, if we were to say that He proceeds from the Father and from the Son, in such wise as that there should be two principles, and, as it were, fountains of Deity, we should be introducing a plurality of Gods : if we were to say that He proceeds from the Father only in such sense as to deny that He proceeds also from the Son, or were to say that He proceeds indeed through the Son (διὰ), but so that He receives His Essence from the Father alone (διὰ only meaning μετα), and is derived through the Son only as through the hands of a dispenser, we should derogate from the co-equal unity of the Son with the Father."

[1] [This and the quotations which follow are from Mr. Palmer's own English of his Latin work. He does not himself, in quoting his Latin, give his passages at full length, nor are they here so given from his English; nor does this omission involve any obscurity.]

Here the Archpriest interposed,—"Quomodo autem imminuetur,—how do we derogate from the co-equal unity of the Son with the Father, if the Holy Ghost receives His Essence from the Father alone, any more than it is a derogation from the co-equal unity of the Holy Ghost with the Father and Son, if the Son receives His Essence from the Father alone?" N.B. —The objection is valid, but, in making it, the Archpriest seemed to accept for himself and for his Church the proposition that the Holy Ghost receives His Essence from the Father only, whereas it is the Greek doctrine, no less than the Latin, that the Holy Ghost receives His Essence from the Son as well as from the Father, inasmuch as He receives third in order that Divine Essence, which already is the Son. What the Greeks do contend for is, that what the Holy Ghost receives from the Father only, is not His Essence, but His Personality.

He continued reading :—"Nor (otherwise) should we be believing the words of Christ, who says,—'As the Father hath life in Himself, so the Son,' &c.—'I am the Resurrection and the Life,' &c. &c. Moreover, in the Mysteries of the Liturgies, it is the Father who gives the Bread of Life, it is the Son also who gives the same; we invoke the Father, we invoke also the Son, to sanctify, even to come Himself to sanctify, the gifts set before him. For it is not as any creature

that the Son has in Himself life received from the Father, but even-as the Father Himself has life in Himself, that all may honour the Son, even-as they honour the Father. Nor is grace in the Son only in passing (in transitu) as by a channel, but, as the Father is the Wellspring and Origin of life and grace, inhering in Himself and proceeding out from Himself, so the Son also is the Wellspring and Origin of the same life and grace inhering in Him as He inheres in the Father, and proceeding not separably as from two principles, but inseparably as from one principle from the Father and the Son, or, as the Greeks say, from the Father through the Son, so that a principality in originating may be ascribed to the Father, without any derogation to the indivisible equality of the Son."

As for all this reasoning, he seemed to think it quite wide of the mark; as relating only to the dispensation of the Holy Ghost in time and to the creatures. However, he ought certainly to have observed, and he did not observe, at least not distinctly, that, *beyond all* this, the Greek Church holds and teaches that the Holy Ghost is from all eternity the proper Spirit of the Son, not communicated, but inherent as His own by this very fact that He proceeds from the Father, and is the Spirit of the Father, third in order, the Son being already, in relative order, interposed as second.

When he came to the words "not as any creature,"

&c., he said that we ought not to make any additions by reasoning on a subject so utterly above our reach. True, I would answer, such a self-restraint may be good and pious for us individuals, nay, even for individual Saints, as St. Gregory Nyssen, or St. Cyril of Jerusalem; but neither we nor they can limit the sense of the Fathers generally, nor of the Church, or prescribe restrictions on the Holy Ghost Himself, who inspires the Church and leads her into all truth; and the Archpriest could scarcely mean to find fault with that particular sentence against which his remark was uttered.

At the words "from the Father through the Son," he said, "The Greek doctrine is more than that, and does not injure that truth, which you represent it as injuring," that is, does not injure the indivisible co-equality of the Son with the Father. By "more than that" perhaps he meant "more than a Procession in time, and with "respect to the creatures."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Discussion continued: Transubstantiation, the Mass, and Icons.

HE went on reading at page 88: "The most important controversy is that which is carried on on both sides respecting the most Holy Mystery of the Eucharist, in which they will have it to be heresy that we deny Transubstantiation. We *do* deny *that* Transubstantiation, which taking away the *natural* substances of bread and wine, leave only their *accidents* after consecration. . . . . If any one desires that subtilty of school-men who introduce their metaphysics into religion, is he at once to be accounted a heretic? for, whether that opinion be true or false, it is joined by no necessary consequence with the integrity of the creeds; nor, if it be denied, is any article of the necessary faith directly or by consequence affected."

"Nos vero transubstantiationem credimus et docemus," interposed the Archpriest ("we both believe Transubstantiation and teach it," referring to my denial

of it in my Latin work, pp. 88, 89); then he went on reading at page 88: "That the Bread of the Eucharist is changed, transelemented (or, if any one like to say transubstantiated, we will not make objection), does not at all make it consequent that the natural substance of bread is done away, and the *natural body* of Christ come instead of it."

"Mihi autem," interrupted the Archpriest in contradiction to my "minime necessario," "hoc *necessario* sequi videtur." Presently when he read my sentence: "The Bread is truly, but spiritually changed, and into the true but spiritual Body of the Lord" (p. 89, Latin), he interposed with "I do not like those words 'truly but spiritually,'" and he repeated two or three times "Spirituale corpus!" saying that this favoured the consubstantiation of the Lutherans. I answered that the Lutherans might *salva fide* assert the union of two substances in the Eucharist in the sense in which certain of the Fathers assert the same, not however a union of two natural substances, nor so as to deny the change of a natural substance into a supernatural or spiritual. I said also that the word "spiritual" is not so to be understood in contrast to the word "natural" as if it implied two bodies; for though our Lord, directing His remarks against the carnal sense of the Jews said, "The flesh profiteth nothing, it is the spirit that quickeneth," still He spoke this of His own true

Body, which He certainly did not mean to explain away, as if the eating and drinking Him were only a metaphor but confirming its reality by a double Amen, just as in His conversation with Nicodemus He had confirmed by a double Amen the truth of Regeneration.

Then the Archpriest continued reading what I said on the analogy of the natural and supernatural creation of the baptismal birth and the Eucharistic food, urging that "the new birth or Regeneration has not done away with the former birth or generation, but has repaired it, sanctified it, ennobled it, and transferred it to its due, decreed, predestinated perfection" (p. 91).

Here the Archpriest expressed approval and praise, and read on to "As that very thing itself, which is fed by bread and wine. . . . is transferred to a new life by the saving Laver of Baptism, without cessation of its former life, so also the natural food of bread and wine, by which the natural creature is fed, by the sanctifying invocation of the Holy Spirit, is changed, is trans-elementated, or even, if any one pleases, is transubstantiated, without cessation of its natural substance into that heavenly food by which the new life of the regenerate is to be sustained" (pp. 91-92). And he ended his reading with the next sentence, "It remains for the Romanists to prove their destruction of the elements to be necessary to the truth of the Sacrament, and that this is borne out by testimonies of the Scrip-

tures, before they anathematize whole churches of God for affirming that the natural substance of Bread and Wine remains even after the change in the Sacrament of the Eucharist" (p. 92).

Upon this he observed that the analogy from which I reasoned appeared to him far-fetched, obscure, and not exact enough. "On the whole," he said, "we agree with Rome on this point." And there are stories related even of miraculous appearances to doubting priests (the miracle of Bolsena he was alluding to, no doubt[1]) who saw flesh and blood without the veil of the accidents, and these only on their penitent prayers resumed their former appearances of bread and wine, so that the priest could receive them.

I spoke of those passages of Theodoret, St. John Chrysostom, St. Ephrem Syrus and Gelasius, which assert the nature or substance of bread to remain after consecration. He had never heard of those passages, and doubted if there were any such. "But if there are," he said, "those fathers must have expressed themselves vaguely, and their words must be interpreted so as to agree with the more numerous and plainer passages." I said: "It is not a case of vague or inaccurate language, but in different respects (according as the order of nature, or the order of grace

[1] [Elsewhere, similar miracles are mentioned as having taken place in Russia.]

only, or both orders together are spoken of) three different and seemingly inconsistent modes of speech are used systematically." Thinking of the change according to the order of Grace, St. Cyril of Jerusalem says: It seems to be bread, but here you must not follow your senses but firmly believe that it is the Body of Christ. In another respect, thinking of the order of nature St. John Chrysostom and others say that the bread does not depart from its proper nature; and again, thinking of both orders of nature and grace together, they say that in this food there are two things, one natural and the other heavenly or supernatural; and in this sense St. Cyril of Jerusalem says that it is not *mere* or *bare* bread, that is, bread indeed according to the order of nature, but it is also the Body of Christ according to the order of Grace. I quoted that passage in which the Eutychian argues that as the bread ceases and passes into the Body of Christ, *so* the human nature of Christ ceases and passes into the divine. Before I could go on, he accepted the assertion of the Eutychian saying, that it was perfectly true, though improperly adduced to defend a heresy. When I told him the answer of the Orthodox, he was quite astonished;[2] the whole was new to him. "I have

[2] [The passage from Theodoret to which Mr. P. refers is genuine, but admits of explanation. Theodoret certainly says or implies that after consecration, the *nature* or *substance* of Bread and

never heard of such a passage, I should like to see it:

Wine remains, but he seems to use the words, not in their theological sense, but for what we now call "accidents" of a thing, that is, for its qualities, properties, belongings, surroundings, externals, for all that makes up its *description*, or is the medium of communication between one thing and another.

1. This is what is commonly meant by "substance" and "nature;" sometimes they stand for a thing, sometimes for the attributes or characteristics of a thing. Thus in Scripture the Prodigal Son is said to have "wasted his substance," that is, what belonged to him, or his property; and so Theodoret uses the word, Rel. Hist. 13, p. 1211, where the Latin translates "it" by "opes." Again, whereas in Psalm XCIV. p. 1286, he speaks of "dry and moist *qualities*," he speaks in Eran. p. 116 of a "moist and dry *substance;*" but in its theological sense "substance" can neither be moist or dry, bitter or sweet, bright or dark, but is that to which these properties or "qualities" belong, though distinct from them.

2. The same remark applies to the word "nature;" it may indeed denote being, or that which is; but it commonly means the properties, laws, &c., of being, as when we speak of an amiable nature, an ill-natured man, the nature of things, the nature of the case, &c.

3. And lexicographers recognize this meaning. Thus, we read in Liddell and Scott's lexicon as the *first* meaning of the word, "*οὐσία*—that which is one's own, one's property," and "*φύσις*, the essence, inborn quality, property, or constitution of a person or thing."

4. And, in the very passage which is the occasion of this note, Theodoret speaks of our Lord's body having "form and figure and circumference, and *in a word* (*ἁπαξαπλῶς εἰπεῖν*) the body's *substance*," as if "substance" was the sum total of those attributes.

5. When, then, he says, "The *substance* of the bread remains

but, whatever it is, it must be interpreted so as to agree with other plainer passages." I went on to observe that the nature of this argument makes it impossible to ascribe to the Orthodox answer any more than to the Eutychian any meaning short of the very substance of the bread. It would be nothing to the purpose for the Orthodox to reply: You are caught in your own net; for though what you say is true, yet the appearances or accidents remain after the consecration. The Eutychian had been arguing not about accidents, but about the very things themselves, and as he said, the bread, the very bread itself ceases and becomes the Body of Christ, so the very human nature of Christ ceases and passes into His Divine Nature.

The Archpriest said, "As for the use of the words *substance* and *accidents*, the Russian Church agrees with the Roman;" alluding, I suppose, to the Orthodox Confession of Peter Mogila, 1643. But when I spoke of the influence of Latinism both in the Levant and in Little Russia in past times, of that long time during which

after consecration," he means its qualities and belongings; and, indeed, to mark this, he expressly adds, "The holy symbols remain as before in their substance, fashion, and form." And, when the Eutychian denies it, he seems to be denying that the consecrated element can religiously be *called* bread; he asks, "After consecration how do you *call* it?" He could not mean to deny that what the senses apprehended was bread; nor to hold the word "transubstantiation" in the Tridentine sense.]

many patriarchs of Constantinople were under the influence of the French, and other Roman Catholic ambassadors—and especially of the affair of Cyril Lucar; of Peter Mogila's having studied at Paris, and of the patriarch Dositheus of Jerusalem having followed too minutely in 1672 the suggestions of the French Ambassador M. De Nointel, he fully admitted all that I said: and when I spoke of the admissions in the XVIII. Articles of the Synod of Bethlehem, of the Tridentine Canon of Scripture, and of the impudence of those obsequious Greeks in taxing Cyril with ignorant folly and malignity, because he distinguished between the truly canonical Scriptures and the Apocrypha, he fairly laughed. I mentioned also the near approach made in those XVIII. Articles to the Roman doctrine of Purgatory, and the admission of the Roman definition of the manner of the change in the Holy Eucharist by substance and accidents. This the Archpriest defended, saying that the Eastern Church on this point agreed with the Roman. I replied: "Nevertheless, you have had the wisdom to correct, in your Russian version of the XVIII. Articles of the Synod of Bethlehem, all those three points." "What do you mean?" he said, smiling. And on my replying that I had shortly before been comparing their version with the original Greek, he exclaimed with manifest astonishment: "Why! you do not know Russian already?

And that is only just done: it is the very last thing we have been about. And is that already known at Oxford?" with a look and gesture of perfect incredulity. I explained how I had accidentally brought out with me a copy of the original Greek text of the Synod of Bethlehem, while Mr. Blackmore, the chaplain at Cronstadt, had been translating their Russian version of the same. "Yes," he said, "we have corrected some inaccuracies." But though they have thus dropped the terms *substance* and *accidents* in translating the articles of the Synod of Bethlehem (sent to Russia and to England by the Greek Patriarchs in 1723 as a standard of Orthodoxy and as an Ultimatum), and though they in like manner have excluded in their Full Russian Catechism the same scholastic terminology, which is contained in the Orthodox Confession of Peter Mogila, the archpriest still maintained (as his own opinion) that they agree with Rome about the distinction of substance and accidents in the Blessed Eucharist.

Reading on, in my "Introduction," and coming to the words "*De Sacrificio Missæ*," he showed that he expected to find me denying it. He passed over Purgatory and Indulgences, saying that they had neither the one nor the other of these, so there was no need to spend time upon them; but then he supposed that I was going to attack altogether the

Icons, Relics, and Invocations. At the mention of our Liturgies, Scotch, English, and American, he paused and asked some questions:—"Are those Liturgies from any Apostle? And, from which of the Apostles? And when I spoke of *changes* which had been made in them, he asked: Why make changes in such a thing? and, such as it is now, after the change is made, is it taken from ancient sources, or only a modern composition?" When he came (at p. 94) to the words:—"In which (English Liturgy) both the Mystical Lamb is truly immolated, and there is a sacrifice propitiatory, both for the living and the dead" (p. 94), he was pleased,[1] and said: "Ah! I am glad to see you admit this, for so it is, undoubtedly, to be believed." I replied: "Certainly." When he came to the paragraph about Images he made a wry face at these words: "It is most certain that the formal customs of the ignorant people degenerate into a superstition extremely like the idolatry of the heathen" (pp. 95, 96); but he was pleased with what followed. My attempt to justify the Church of England for now disallowing the decree of the second Nicene Council in favour of images, on the ground that though accepted by the Pope that decree was for some time rejected by many of the Western churches, was answered at once by him thus:

[1] *Vide supr.*, p. 5.

"The Pope, the patriarch of the West, received it, and that Council is ecumenical." The last section about the Invocation of the Saints he read aloud without any objection.

CHAPTER XXIX.

The Archpriest's view of Mr. Palmer's position and appeal.

SEPTEMBER 21 [o.s.].—Returned from Cronstadt, where I had been from Monday, September 14, reading Mouravieff's "History of the Russian Church," and translating from the Greek and Russ, with Mr. Blackmore, the Orthodox Confession of Peter Mogila.

That same day I visited the Archpriest Koutnevich, who had now read through my Introduction to the XXXIX. Articles, and he is pleased with it. But he finds in it some differences. He instanced the Procession of the Holy Ghost, Images, Relics and Invocation of the Saints. And the Sacraments are not distinctly said in it to be seven. I said, "The technical manner of speaking of 'the Seven Sacraments' has been borrowed by the Greeks from the Latins." He said they had had it from the beginning. Then he insisted on the authority of the seventh Nicene Council, as having been approved by the Pope, the Patriarch

of the West. He said that any Synods held in Germany, France, and England, were as nothing in the balance, and that the veneration of Images also had been in the Church from the beginning; and that the Invocation of the Saints had been in the Liturgies and Offices from the very first. He said more than once that I came very near to them: but still he would not allow that the Latin doctrine of the *Procession* was not a heresy, nor need cause a breach of communion. At the same time he confessed that there had actually been intercommunion, even after the controversy had arisen.

As for my desire to be admitted to communion, he said, "You have your own chaplain here; you need not come to us." "How," I asked, "can the Church of England be in your diocese?" "But," he said, "in point of fact here it is, agreeing with your Church in England in all things, using the same ritual, &c.; so also there is here the Lutheran, and the Calvinistic, the Latin, the Armenian, in all perhaps a dozen churches and confessions." I replied, "I recognize no such confessions, but only one Confession or Faith, viz. that of the Creed. There cannot be *de jure* two confessions, or two bishops, in one place. I am no member of the Church of England in Russia, but of the Church of Russia—in wish and intention at least. If the English here are in point of fact voluntarily separate, I cannot

in this defend them, nor can I defend you. For your Bishop thinks that, if there are more Churches than one in the world, and in his diocese too, he need not trouble himself about that. And our people in like manner never so much as think of the Bishop of the place, but behave as if they had brought out England itself in their ships."

He answered, "Certainly there ought to be only one church in one place, and we pray that so it may be. But, if we were on that account to give communion to the English, while they differ from us in points of such great importance, that would be extremely dangerous, and it would scandalize the people beyond anything. Even for yourselves it would be so; your people too would be scandalized, and think that their bishops and clergy had made a league with heretics and idolaters. Oh! that would cause too great scandal."

Among other things he asked, "What do you say to confession? for no one can communicate in our church without first confessing. And how would a Lutheran or a Calvinist be received as a proselyte to your church?" I replied, "Practically there is no discipline; theoretically, any one, having weighty matters, that is, excommunicable or mortal sins, on his conscience, ought to confess, and the form of absolution is the same as that used in the Roman (and in the Russian) Church, and an alien, Lutheran or Calvinist, ought to

be examined as to his belief of the Creed, and to his having been validly baptized and confirmed, but this is almost unknown. The priest, in visiting the sick, is directed to question him whether he has not on his conscience any weighty matter, and, if he has, to exhort him to confess it, that he may be absolved; and, in giving notice for Holy Communion, he exhorts all such as cannot satisfy their own conscience to confess themselves to the priest and to obtain absolution. And all without exception are required to give notice to him, before presenting themselves as communicants; but in practice none of these rules are attended to." He observed on this, "It is very insufficient merely to invite people to confess, *in case* they feel their own conscience burdened."

He lent me a Treatise on the *Procession* by Theophanes Procopovich (compiled from a larger work by Adam Zarnikav) and I lent him "the Book of Bertram the Priest on the Holy Eucharist," the doctrine of which, as expressed in an Anglo-Saxon Homily of Ælfric for Easter Day, was subscribed and reaffirmed for the Church of England in the time of Queen Elizabeth. This was with a reference to that expression "spirituale corpus" in my "Introduction" which he had disliked.

CHAPTER XXX.

Conversations with M. Mouravieff.

ON the same day called upon M. Mouravieff, who in the meantime had been reading the "Origines Liturgicæ" of Palmer, of Worcester College, lent to him by the Metropolitan Philaret, and to the Metropolitan by Mr. Blackmore. He turned to a place where the author argues that it is *superfluous* to invoke the Saints since they pray for us all the same whether we invoke them or not, and said: "A custom of the Church is not to be suppressed on such grounds as that, nor on the pretext that anything, however good, may be abused." He disallowed the author's defence of Queen Elizabeth's consecrations of a new Episcopate, and insisted that the Sovereign has been admitted by the Anglican Church as her *head*, while to say this of the Russian Church is a *most* absurd calumny. He observed that all the due forms, of obtaining the consent of the Eastern Patriarchs, had been observed (that is, when the present collegiate government of that Church was instituted) even by Peter the Great, who, he admitted,

had "une volonté forte." And when a bishop is made, he is made, not in the name of the Emperor, but in the name of Christ; and the Emperor only chooses one out of three (two) names presented to him, and he can do nothing in spiritual matters. He entirely denied that power, which Mr. Palmer (of Worcester) claimed for the Crown, to displace and to translate bishops. I observed that we English often speak of the relations of Church and State in Russia as he was speaking then of the relations of Church and State in England, and that the truth was just the same in both cases. The State had certainly invaded the rights of the Church. This he would not allow. He even asserted an Ecclesiastical supremacy for the English Parliament, and said, "There may, no doubt, be individuals, who think like you, perhaps even some of the bishops,—(how many bishops have you? and *are* there *any* of them who think like you?,)—but *you* are not the Anglican Church." And, again, reverting to the Royal Supremacy, and to my disclaiming it, he said: "Ah! you are beginning to disclaim it *now*, for it is not only in England, but everywhere that men are now beginning rentrer dans l'ordre, ce torrent du Protestantisme est passé. So," he said, "it is here also in Russia among us. Who could have thought that a stroke of the pen was one day to reconcile that *Unia*, which has been so cruel, and factious, and venomous?"

He told me to go to the Sergiefsky Poustin, fifteen versts (about ten miles) on the Strelna road, on Wednesday next the 25th [o.s.], that being their festival, so as to be there by ten o'clock for the Liturgy. "You can stay a week there," he said, "with the archimandrite Brenchininoff." He would read, meanwhile, he said, my namesake Mr. Palmer's treatise, "On the Church," which would give him no doubt, a more complete view of the position and nature of the Anglican Church than he had been able to gain of our ritual from the "Origines Liturgicæ." He objected: "*You* perhaps may admit that the bread of the Holy Eucharist is after consecration the Body of Christ; but how many agree with you in that? Your Church does not teach that; she says it is only a symbol." I denied this; and quoted from the Scotch Liturgy the words "May *become* the Body and Blood of Christ," &c.

The next day, Sunday, I took to M. Mouravieff the English and American Prayer Books, and promised him the Scotch Liturgy, when I got my books from England; also Mr. Palmer's Treatise on the Church. Of a long conversation I have only detached memoranda.

1. He did not accept the assertion that all necessary articles of faith are proved by Scripture, as well as by tradition. He thought that the number of Seven Sacraments was a fixed dogma of the Church from the beginning.

2. He said: "The Church is not now what she was in early times. Then there was so much life and vigour, that all was left indeterminate: but now all things have been decided and classed, and catalogued; and we must not 'move the landmarks.'" This he repeated several times. "I know there is a tendency now abroad, and in England, and especially at Oxford, to maintain very broad principles of Catholicism, but in some respects the Greek communion is less capable of meeting your distinctions and accommodations than the Latin. For the Latin has a central authority in the Pope, which all must obey, and he can easily negotiate and explain, and even make concessions; but the Greeks cannot, for they are unlearned, both laity and clergy, and they are blindly attached to all that they have received, even to the minutest details of their rites; and, if the Russians were to make any explanation, &c., the only consequence would be that they would lose the communion of the Eastern Patriarchs." He said this with reference to my introduction of the principle of "In necessariis unitas," &c.

3. "If things were not done precipitately," I said, "but proofs on each point were brought from their own Fathers, the Greek patriarchs, one may hope, would not be unreasonable." But he shook his head, and said, "You can have no idea of the degree to which

the Greek clergy are barbarized, and ignorant; and the ignorance of the clergy is very great in Russia too. Any one who would communicate with the Oriental church must take her just as she is, for she can do nothing to meet him."

4. He said: "See what the English have just now done in the Ionian Islands! They oppress there the orthodox; and, not content with that, they have turned out the Patriarch of Constantinople, Gregory! And such a good man too, as he was. This is what your English Church has done for us!"

5. When I said that the Turkish empire must fall before long, and the sooner the better, and that Providence seemed to have destined Russia to be instrumental to that end, he confessed to having thought that Russia in the last war had been much too punctilious about the acquisition of territory.

6. When I spoke of the abuse of the word *Catholic* even in official papers, written in French, he admitted that they had not so full or clear an idea of Catholicism as they ought to have. "There is little knowledge of theology even among the clergy. But the recent reconciliation of the Uniats will do good by making the Eastern church less tenacious of unessential points. For in this case they have admitted certain ritual differences, e.g. unmarried priests, bishops without beards, &c., &c. In truth the Latins have many

good things, which we shall do well to learn from them, especially their idea of Catholic unity and their zeal to extend it."

7. "The Uniats," he said, "have been required only to accept the Greek form of the Creed." He admitted that they had not been required to abjure the *Latin doctrine* concerning the *Procession*, the admission of the Creed in its correct form being thought sufficient." "But by the terms of the Council of Florence," I said, "the Latin words were to be at the foot of the page." "It matters not," he answered, "what was stipulated at Florence; but at the Synod of Brest Litorsky the Pope accorded to them at first the Greek creed without any such stipulation, insisting only on the recognition of his own supremacy."

8. He asked me what had put me upon this step of coming to Russia? Was I sent by any others? By any authority? Did I mean to go to the East? If I did, I should see the Greek clergy in a very low and miserable state. In fact the more the Eastern Church flourishes in Russia, the more it seems to be sinking and ruined in the East.

9. To illustrate what he had been saying, he related that once he asked the Patriarch of Constantinople what was the precise heresy of the Armenians, as it seemed to himself very subtle. "In fact," he said, "they are all but the same as we are; and now that

Etchmiadzin belongs to Russia, they might easily be united, for they by no means hold the true Eutychian heresy. But, if we were to do anything with them, the Greeks would cry out that we had made union with the heretics." When he asked the Patriarch that question, the answer was, "Oh, do not ask me, my son! Only know that all heresies in the world which are most pernicious and wicked are united in the heresy of the Armenians."

10. When speaking of the miserable state of the Greek clergy in the Levant, he said, "Guess how many orthodox there may be in the three Patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem;—put together. There are not more than 100,000!" Of these he gave 10,000, I think, to the Patriarch of Alexandria, 25,000 to that of Jerusalem; and the remainder, 65,000, to that of Antioch. But the Patriarchate of Constantinople has 10,000,000.

11. He said repeatedly, "Such intercommunion as you now seek would be impossible. If the Russian clergy could admit you to communion, the Anglicans, who regard the Russians and Greeks as barbarians and idolaters, would cry out against you for conforming to the customs of the Greek Church, just as the Greeks would cry out against us Russians, if we made a pacification with the Armenians. You have thought in an unusual way of these things; you see what pre-

judices there are, and you would bring the two sides to agreement after a manner by explanations. You see that some things are of not such great importance, others may be reconciled, others are true and false in different respects. But people in general do not see this on either side. Now," he said, laughing, "do you mean to tell me that your friend, the chaplain at Cronstadt, or the other, who is here, would agree with you? No, no, they are Anglicans, I am sure, of the regular old school."

12. As regards the *Procession*, notwithstanding what he had said about the reception of the Uniats, and though he confessed that there had repeatedly been intercommunion after the development of that controversy, he contended that this had been so only through inattention, and that the Greeks anathematize the Latin doctrine as a *heresy*, and the Latins as *heretics*. "If so," I said, "you are inconsistent; for then you ought no longer to talk, as you do, of the Eastern and the Western Churches, and of a General Council being now impossible, on account of the division; for, if the Latins are heretics, your own communion is the whole Catholic Church, and you ought no longer to call it Eastern, but Catholic."

13. He spoke of one of their chaplains abroad as having been neither more nor less than a Protestant. "That is the mischief," he said. "From ignorance they

too often have no idea of their religion beyond that of nationality; and when, out of their own country, among Protestants, they think it fine to be like gentlemen, like ministers or pastors, and they cut off their beards (this, however, they are allowed to do), and wear a lay-dress. Instead of thus imitating foreigners, they ought to show more attachment to their own national customs, and still more to the principles and peculiarities of their religion. He had just before said, that "it was this idea of a *national* religion which did all the mischief."

14. He said that the Greeks and Russians were deficient, as compared with the Westerns, in Missions; but he promised to introduce me to a Missionary priest, named Veniaminoff, who has converted and baptized 2000 persons in the Aleoutine Islands.

15. He spoke of the Patriarch Nicon, whom he admired as a fine character, and compared him with Thomas à Becket, Hincmar, and others in the West. Nicon, like them, thought the Church ought to be supreme, and for a time he had been used to have all his own way. M. Mouravieff, however, would not allow that Nicon was a Confessor for any great principle, as I was inclined to suppose and to wish.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Interview with Count Pratasoff.

SEPTEMBER 23 [o.s.].—Saw Count Pratasoff at one o'clock at the Synodal Palace, and told him I had been translating (with Mr. Blackmore) the "Orthodox Confession" (of Peter Mogila). He did not quite approve of this, and said, "You should rather translate the 'Russian Catechism' of the Metropolitan Philaret." I said, "We mean to print all those documents which are of authority, so as to give a full idea of the actual state of theology in Russia. There is, however, some inconsistency in these documents. You have not only avoided in your Russian Catechism the definition of Transubstantiation by means of 'substance' and 'accidents,' but in your published translation of the XVIII. Bethlehem Articles, you have actually altered the text of the original, so as to omit that mention of 'accidents' which is found in the Greek, while in the Russian translation of the 'Orthodox Confession' the document from which the XVIII.

Articles derived the term,"—he finished my sentence for me, "we have retained the term which in the XVIII. Articles we have suppressed. It is true," he continued, "we are very desirous to improve education and sound learning, but the prevalent ignorance is great, especially in Greece and the Levant, and people cannot distinguish, but are blindly tenacious of all that they are used to. All the same a prodigious movement has been effected within a short time, even in Greece. We print everything both in Slavonic and in Greek, and send it to the churches of the Levant gratuitously, and so we hope to fortify them both against the Latins and the Methodists, who now ravage them. We have printed the Ecclesiastical Canons without note or gloss in full, in double columns, a folio volume, in Slavonic and Greek, and the 'Orthodox Confession,' and the 'Short and Long Russian Catechism' too, all in Greek."

He said, "If we can manage to co-operate together, so much the better." I answered, "We on our side, ought to be able; for we desire nothing but truth and the unity of the Church; and we have no other power or help, but what prayers and the grace of God may give us, for the civil government of England is now rather with the Popish and Protestant sectaries."

He asked, "Which of your bishops are *most* Catholic?" I replied, "It would be easier to name those who are *least* Catholic. As long as our Church was exclusively

protected by the State, even well-intentioned Churchmen spoke and wrote chiefly about 'our sacred Establishment,' though sometimes one also heard of 'our Apostolical Church.' But, since the change made in 1828, 1829, by admitting the Protestant and Popish Dissenters to political power, especially since the Reform Bill of 1832, by the triumph of a Whig Government leaning chiefly on them for support, there has been a revival of those Catholic and Apostolic feelings of the Church herself, which our political Protestants, after calling to the throne, first a Dutch Calvinist, then a German Lutheran, have for a century and a half been constantly seeking to extinguish."

He asked questions about the Bishop of London, and about the Archbishop of Canterbury; how far were they Catholics? I said, "The men of the last generation all, I suppose, or very nearly all, speak of their Church as Protestant, and call it the Established Church, or even the Establishment, or our Protestant Establishment; but the rising generation of the clergy disuse more and more those suicidal and ambiguous terms, and see that they ought to be simply Orthodox, Catholic, and Apostolic, and nothing else; and that in all their thoughts and words and acts they ought to look to the unity of the whole, and never in a mere local, sectarian, or Erastian sense, to speak of what are vulgarly called 'National Churches.'"

"Ah," he said, "so Oxford is the centre from which all this comes?" "By no means," I replied. "We have some very distinguished and good men there, who by their learning and piety are leaders of this movement—that is true—but the movement itself is from a deeper source than any personal influences of individuals. It is the result of the political changes of 1828, 1829, and it shows itself everywhere spontaneously all over England as well as in Oxford, and that, often without any communications to account for it."

Like M. Mouravieff, he asked jokingly about our chaplains here and at Cronstadt, and said he was sure they were of the old school, unless I had converted either of them. "I said they might not agree with me in all the developments I make from principles, but in the principles themselves both they, and so far as I know, the great body of our clergy, are perfectly Orthodox." He said, "I cannot believe that. Your English here are many of them quite Protestant, Puritan: and they make the Russians think that they are not only Protestants like the Lutherans, but even like the Reformed (i.e. Dutch or Swiss Calvinists), which is much worse."

With regard to my intention of going to Moscow and Kieff, he said, "You must not leave Petersburg at present; we shall be better able to find you opportunities to see ceremonies, &c., here, and you can do nothing

anywhere else till you have learned Russ, which is not to be done in a day. At any rate, you must stay till the Metropolitan of Moscow is here. When he comes, I will take you with me to him, and I shall hear what he says to you. I will show him your letter, which I have had translated for the Emperor. The Metropolitan of Petersburg, Seraphim, who is much respected and rigidly orthodox, even to severity, is very old and infirm, and it would be best not to trouble him, as a foreigner not knowing Russ could not confer with him to any purpose."

CHAPTER XXXII.

Conversation with the Priest Malloff.

SEPTEMBER 24 [o.s.]. — Madame Beck, having heard of my wish to live in the house of some Russian ecclesiastic, sent me a message that she thought I could live in the house of a priest of the Isaac Church, M. Malloff, who was her confessor. I was taken to call on him in consequence; he spoke French quite fluently.

He said, "The Russian clergy and laity in general believe that the true Church is strictly confined to the Greek and the Russian, or the Eastern. What do you think of all the other sects, and of the Latin Church?" I replied, "I think that the true Catholic Church is divided by misunderstandings into *three* parts or Communions." He looked puzzled, and asked, "How into *three?*" I replied, "First into the Eastern and the Western, and then the Western again into the Continental and the British." He understood then what I meant, and went on thus, "Well, all the sects have

come out either from the Latin or from the Greek Church; and the Russians believe that their Church (i.e. the Greek or Orthodox Eastern) alone has kept all just as it was, while the rest have all departed from what they originally held together with the Eastern, the Popes having introduced innumerable novelties and detestable corruptions. On the other hand, the Latins say that all alike are schismatics or heretics except themselves. For my part, I think that there are Christians everywhere (i.e. in all the Churches and Sects), and that the great thing is the religion of the heart. What do you think?"

I said, "The first thing between us is to ascertain and understand the definition of the true Church, of the visible Church: then, as to all those that are outside it, we know nothing about them (as individuals,—the Church judges them not, but) God is their Judge. There is only one true Catholic and Apostolic Church, visible and invisible; and it is not enough for men to have a good intention to practise virtue in the sect in which they happen to be; they must also seek to be Catholics in faith and to believe in the Catholic Church, as being the one only way of Salvation." He asked, "In which then of the two do you make true religion to consist? in right belief (Orthodoxy), or in virtuous action? For there are two parties—one thinking in the former way, the other in

the latter." I said, "In both together. They should never be separated even in thought. Orthodox faith *ought* to show itself by superior charity and superior virtue; and charity and virtue, in whatever degree they exist, even outside the Church, tend toward Orthodoxy of faith. But neither are Orthodoxy and virtue, both together, enough; there must also be actual union, and a state of union, with the Church through the reception of the Sacraments, and a state of grace which ceases when any man falls personally into heresy or schism, or other mortal sin." He said, "But what do you think of the different Churches or Confessions, Catholic, Lutheran, &c.?" I said, "Here in Russia you should call none but yourselves Catholics: those whom you call Catholics are Romanists here; you may call them Latins or Romans at Rome. And as for the Lutherans, how are they a *Church?* An opinion or Confession, or joint action as a society, does not make a Church. And as for sects (whether with or without the organization of Churches), the first authors of heresies and schisms are the special children of the devil; but the case of their descendants is different." "Ah! what do you say of them?" he asked. "Doubtless there are honest and good people in all the sects" (he had quoted the example of Cornelius, and the words, "In every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted of him"), "but it is impossible for the Church

on that account to call their inherited errors truth, or to regard truth as indifferent, or to call them disciples or brethren," &c., &c.

He did not sympathize fully with me in all this, though he seemed to admit it. He spoke much of the deep-rooted attachment of the Russian people to external forms. "*You*," he said, "have, I suppose, education for your clergy, *we* have scarcely any. There are two parties among us; and there are some of the clergy, thank God, who seem sincerely to seek Christ; but I fear the greater number are mere bigots to their outward forms, and think all religion to consist in them. The people, for instance, would think a priest without a beard to be an heretic."

I could scarcely make him perceive that there was any inconsistency or weakness in confining the true Catholic Church to the East, and yet partly admitting the Latin too, and even calling it (in French and other languages at least) *Catholic*, in preference to their own Church. "If you," I said, "alone are the whole true Church, you ought to set to work to convert all the Latins, but you dare not say distinctly that they are heretics." "Yes," he said, "presque hérétiques." "Ah! there it is," I replied, "presque!" "Some of their errors," he said, "touch (rasent) the foundation." "Still," I replied, "so long as they are only *presque*, not quite heretics, they are part, and even the greater

part of the Church, and the other part (the Eastern or Greek) is not the whole; and the Catholic authority lies in the union actual or virtual of the two; and we ought all to pray night and day, and to make special prayers for the restoration of that unity." "Ah!" he said, "you will never bring our bishops and archimandrites to that, for they regard the Church as confined to the East." He also said, "We are all so confused by the multiplicity of divisions that, for my part, I do not see how any man can find a consistent and satisfactory way out of them.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Interview with Count Pratasoff.

THE same day, at six p.m., I saw Count Pratasoff at his own house till eight. Among other questions he asked, "By what name do you call your Church among yourselves?" I said, "Commonly the Church of England." "The English Church, a local or particular name like your Græco-Russian" (introduced by Theophanes Procopovich, but now, he says, disused), "or Eastern." He said, "We have now substituted the word *Orthodox*, and are regaining the use of the word *Catholic*." I observed that "the journals printed in French by authority apply the word '*Catholique*' *abusivè* to the Latins." He said that to correct that there needed an order of the Synod *and the Senate* (?) to all the officials or public offices. "Besides the 'Church of England,' or 'the Church' simply, many among us," I said, "speak of the 'Established Church,' and even of the 'Establishment.'" He was surprised to hear that the Popish bishops in England

and Ireland depend simply on the Pope, and that the civil power has no control whatever over them, which freedom of democratical Popery seems to have inspired De la Mennais with his theory. The Count said, "We have reconciled the Uniats without requiring of them anything else than the acknowledgment that Christ is *the Head* of the Church, as the Pope at Brest Litovski in reconciling them to himself had stipulated for nothing else than this, that they should acknowledge *His headship*,[1] and not call the Latins heretics. Now," he said, "they revile us for this. But there are five Bulls of the Popes still extant. This has done good by enlarging the ideas of the Greeks, and it has already produced words or acts from some persons of eminence and bishops, as if sounding or feeling their way; and the Pope's power is very insecure in Poland, and here" (in Lithuania or Western Russia?) "his bishops are much more under the Emperor than are the Russian bishops. In fact, the *Governor* (of the province, or the Government) is truly their Head; and lately the Emperor made a metropolitan without asking the Pope; and that metropolitan has written to the Pope, taking the title without him: and the Government lately changed a prayer for the Mahometan Moollahs, who were going to pray that the Emperor might always continue to protect Islam.

[1] [As the *Vicar* of Christ.]

He asked what centralization of authority and action was there in our Communion? He perceived that the Act of Parliament had made a kind of Patriarch of our Archbishop of Canterbury; and thought it important that there should be some sort of subordination about a common centre.

He twice repeated the wish that the chaplain here would teach the English to regard themselves as nearer in religion to the Russians than to the Reformed. He said they would try to get a good theologian to replace the Russian chaplain at London, and he asked me to give them a list of good English divines and books, and, when I mentioned an intention of translating into Russ some short edifying books, he seemed to approve of this, bidding me talk about it to M. Mouravieff and the archpriest, who was very learned and sound.

He again showed a disinclination to let me live in the Spiritual Academy, bringing forward various objections. He said that Malloff had by no means a clear idea of the Church, but he is clever, has some acquaintance with literature, and is a good preacher. "But he durst not have talked in the provinces as he talked here to you."

He spoke, as M. Mouravieff had spoken, of Lord Ponsonby having deposed the Patriarch of Constantinople, Gregory, a very good man (who, however, in resigning, stipulated for the election of another,

Anthimus, less learned and more bigoted than himself).

In speaking of Dr. Pinkerton's success in establishing Bible Societies all over Russia, and of the missionaries for whom he obtained permission to go to Siberia, as if to help the Church, but who had prepared no single soul for baptism, and had taught the few over whom they obtained influence to be more hostile to the Church than were the pagans, he smiled, and said that their late Metropolitan or rather their retired Metropolitan, Seraphim, had the merit of having suspended the Bible Society. He expressed a wish to see the private Devotions of Bishop Andrewes, and the Devotions of Archbishop Laud, and an account of his martyrdom.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Visit of some days to the Monastery of St. Sergius—The Anniversary Service.

WEDNESDAY, 25th September [o.s.].—Went with M. Mouravieff to the Sergiefsky *Poustin* (Hermitage) in time for the Liturgy. St. Sergius of Radonege in the fourteenth century was the source of a new development of monasticism spreading over all the Northern and Eastern parts of Russia, and he, and his monks Peresviet and Osliab, co-operated with the Grand Prince Dmitri Donskoy in A.D. 1380 in the work of preparation for the liberation of his country from the Tartars. And, as Peter I. translated from Vladimir to the banks of the Neva the Relics of St. Alexander Nefsky, and built around them the present Lavra, so his daughter Elizabeth founded this hermitage of St. Sergius, near the new capital, to place it like Moscow under the protection of that Saint, and to connect it with a place of pilgrimage answering to that of the great Troitsa-Sergiefska Lavra, which is regarded by the people

(especially since A.D. 1613 [1]) as the heart and sanctuary of Muscovy.

I was placed within the sanctuary. The Holy Table or Throne, a square table of moderate height, fixed on the level floor, and covered down to the ground on all sides with red and gold brocade, stood in the centre, a strip of carpet being laid round it. It had upon it two candelabra of three lights each, and an *artophorion* or tabernacle behind and between them, rising from a porcelain pedestal. Two richly-covered books, gilded and embossed, with *icons* like cameos in their centres, stood upright towards the back of the altar. Also the antiminse or corporal, on which is stamped the figure of Christ in the tomb, with a

[1] [We shall hear more of this Lavra, as Mr. Palmer's Journal proceeds. After the extended troubles external and internal of the country, before 1613, "at length," says Mouravieff, "when all appeared to be lost, she suddenly, by the help of God, recovered herself, shook off from her the ashes of her towns and villages, and flourished in renewed strength. The Trinity (Troitsa) Lavra, by its ardent patriotism, rekindled a like flame in her chilled and paralyzed members; the holy Archimandrite was ever on the watch; he took care of the people who fled out of the capital; turned the whole of the convent into one great hospital, &c."—Blackmore's translation, p. 168, Oxford, 1842.

There are only three Lavras, or first-class monasteries in Russia, that of St. Sergius of the Holy Trinity, or the Moscow Lavra; St. Alexander Nefski or the Petersburg's; and that of Kieff, where are the relics spoken of above in note, pp. 81, 82, and where St. Andrew is said to have preached.]

particle of some relics imbedded and interwoven in it, was lying, folded like a napkin in front. On the wall there was a large painting, representing the Three Persons of the Blessed Trinity, with an inscription "These Three are One."

The officiating clergy robed in the sanctuary. The monks stood without, in the body of the Church, in two choirs, facing the sanctuary. Two priests stood on the north of the altar, two on the south, the Archimandrite in the centre. I now had ocular witness of what is said in the Liturgies and the old Fathers, of the priests in the Eucharistic service compassing or surrounding the altar. Afterwards seats were placed for the four concelebrating priests and for the Archimandrite behind the altar, and there they sat looking westward through the royal doors which had been opened. After the dismissal of the Catechumens, the Archimandrite opened the antiminse, the gifts having been prepared and the offertory made at the *Prothesis* by one of the concelebrating priests during the reading of the Hours, Tierce and Sext. In the procession that followed, the deacon first bore the paten or disk, with the asterisk and its cover on his head, then a priest the chalice, and others the book, the rod of Moses, with the cross, the spoon, the lance and the reed. Thus they re-entered through the central or royal doors, which were then closed and so remained. Next I saw the

Archimandrite and the concelebrating priests kiss the Holy Things on the covers and the rim of the Table, and one another over the right shoulder, embracing at the same time by putting one arm over the left shoulder and the other over the right. After this, the choirs sang the Creed, while the Archimandrite and the priests waved the *Aër* (a thin piece of fine linen) over the gifts.

Then followed the consecration, the deacons waving the fans, or wings of Cherubim, over the uncovered gifts, and, at the moment of the great oblation, after our Lord's words of institution, and before the Invocation of the Holy Ghost, I saw the chief Deacon lift up a little from the altar the paten and the chalice, both at once, having his wrists crossed. Before the Invocation, the celebrating Priests all made certain secret ejaculations as a preparation, and prostrated themselves to the ground, saying the same words thrice (the like to which they had done also just before the great Introit, before leaving the altar for the Prothesis); and again after the Invocation, when the Consecration was perfected, they all bowed to the very ground all round the alt as the elders round the Throne and the Lamb in the Apocalypse; and this, I am told, is the universal practice through Russia, though not prescribed by any rubric nor usual in the Levant.

Then followed in a low voice the prayers for the

departed, and those for the living, names being read at the same time from the diptychs, while the choirs sang an anthem in honour of the Blessed Virgin. After a short *Ectencia*,[2] the curtain within the *iconostasis* (or screen) being drawn back, the Archimandrite lifted up the Oblation with the words "Holy Things for the Holy." An anthem followed, called the Communion, during which the Archimandrite divided the Lamb, as it is called, into four parts, putting the top or eastern part of the stamp or seal (I.H.C.) into the chalice, and then pouring in from a silver shell a little hot water. Then he communicated himself from the part having the stamp XC., which he had divided into the requisite number of particles for the clergy concelebrating and ministering within the altar, while each of the concelebrating priests came up in his turn, and kissing first the antiminse, took to himself his particle from the paten into his hand, and, closing it, went round to his place, and there made a reverence and communicated himself. Then the Archimandrite communicated the deacons. And, having finished, he communicated first himself and then the rest of the priests with the chalice, afterwards the deacons. Then he put into the chalice the two parts of the Lamb NI and KA for the communion of the inferior clerks without the Altar and the laity. While the

[2] [Series of collects, or litany, or bidding prayer.]

choirs sung a *troparion*, the deacon wiped with a sponge all the remaining particles and crumbs from the paten into the chalice, and covered them both; and afterwards at the *prothesis* consumed what remained in it.

Then the Archimandrite, after saying a prayer, distributed to the people the *Antidoron* (consisting of small squares of blessed bread), and gave his final blessing.

CHAPTER XXXV.

The Dinner of the Sergiefsky Festival.

THE Church was thronged. Afterwards many persons, ladies as well as men, went to visit the archimandrite for the festival. The great church, out of which we now went, stands in the middle of the walled precinct, with a cemetery around it, where many of the nobility are buried. This is the usual plan and appearance of Russian monasteries. As one approaches from without, one sees a battlemented wall, with towers perhaps at intervals, especially over or near the great gates, the walls about which are painted in colours with some scriptural or ecclesiastical history and there will be an icon over the doorway. The walls themselves are whitewashed, but the copings of the battlements and the conical tops of the towers are coloured green or red. But before noticing these, one has probably seen in the distance, or caught glimpses at intervals of the five gilded cupolas and crosses of the chief church rising above the walls or among the trees,

and, highest of all, the bulb of the belfry-tower. On entering one sees the lodgings of the monks attached all round to the wall of the precinct, like casemates. Even if there is no cemetery, there will be green turf round the central church divided by gravel-walks or flag-pavements, sometimes with avenues of trees leading up to the church, and there will be similar pavements or walls running all round the precinct in front of the cells. Probably too there will be a number of trees scattered about within, which, though not of any beauty or size in the North of Russia, give a more varied and more cheerful aspect to the place, especially in summer.

As I entered the Archimandrite's lodgings the singers were chanting at the blessing of some refreshments called *zakuska*, which were offered to all present, and of which each person tasted standing. Here I was accosted in English by two or three officers. One of these, Admiral Ricard, was sent to England when young by the Empress Catharine, and not long ago he was Governor of Kamschatka. Another had lost a leg, but notwithstanding that, he has since travelled in the Levant, to Palestine and Egypt, and to the Seven Churches of Asia Minor. After the crowd of visitors had left, those who were invited accompanied the Archimandrite and the brethren to the refectory, where we found a long table spread, there being about forty monks to dine, besides the guests. At the end

nearest the door by which we entered there was a large picture or icon, and before it a wax-light, which stood about five feet high from the floor. The Archimandrite turned round to the picture so as to have the wax-light a little before him on his right hand, and we, with all the monks, stood behind him in a body, reaching to the other end of the room. And the Archimandrite beginning, the rest answered him, and so chanted the Blessing of the Table. I may add, that in like manner after dinner they sang the Grace, which was still longer, the wax-light being set again, and all turning to it on rising from table, and chanting, as I thought, magnificently.

After the table had been thus blessed, the company took their places, bowing and making the sign of the cross thrice, as they did also at the end. We sat down to a good dinner of fish-soup, fish dressed in several ways, vegetables, and *pirogi*, with wine to drink, and mead, and quass, which last is the popular beverage of the Russians. It is a subacid liquor, not intoxicating; (it is upon vodka, not on quass, that they get drunk). We had black rye bread, moist and viscid, with a slight sharpness, which is eaten with a good deal of salt, and towards the end of the dinner some apples and pears, which, however, were not served separately like our desert. During the dinner one of the novices in a simple cassock stood at a light portable naloi

reading part of the "Life of St. Sergius." This lectern was placed towards the picture, though at some distance from it, towards the middle of the room, so that he faced towards the archimandrite and the upper end of the table. Admiral Ricard sat next to me, on one side, and a monk who spoke French on the other. The admiral told me that he had brought back from Kamschatka a Chinese servant, who had been with him a number of years, and spoke Russ: he had often tried in vain to convert this man, but M. Mouravieff, having heard this, desired to see the Chinaman, and after a number of interviews one day the man came back with joy in his countenance, and said: "Now, master, I wish to be baptized." The Admiral told another story of a native of Kamschatka. His predecessor in that Government had offered some temporal advantages to such as became Christians, which Admiral Ricard, finding that they did harm rather than good, had ceased to offer. There was one native, a fine strong man, who was very troublesome, committing all sorts of crimes, and being a ring-leader in every disorder. This man having been more than once brought before him, he, the Admiral, said to him not quite seriously, "When do you mean to leave off your bad habits, and be baptized?" "Not yet," the man replied boldly; "when I am baptized I shall have the Governor for my godfather." The Admiral

took him at his word, and said that whenever he was fit to be baptized the Governor was ready to be his godfather; and in the meantime he condemned him to no other punishment than that of listening to the instructions of a priest. After a time, the priest reported that the man was really fit; and so he was baptized, and had the Governor for his godfather; and from that day he became as exemplary as he had before been vicious. When the Admiral was quitting the Government, this man, then a zealous Christian, knowing which way he would pass, went several hundred miles, and posted himself on the road to intercept his godfather, and to thank him for the last time, and to take his parting blessing.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Conversation with the Archimandrite Brenchininoff.

M. MOURAVIEFF, after introducing me to two or three of the monks who speak French, took his leave and returned to Petersburg. I am now writing from the room or "cell" of one of these new acquaintances, who has given it up to me for the time of my stay. He is the secretary and vicar of the archimandrite, about thirty-five years old, and of very friendly and engaging manners. The room in England would be called unfurnished; but it has a light screen between five and six feet high, running across one end of it, and hiding the bed. The window, which opens by a string (the second windows for winter being not yet put in), looks out upon a bare patch of ground with some ponds (there is no end of mosquitoes or sand-flies), and in the distance one sees the masts and sails of the vessels in the gulf.

After his *siesta* the archimandrite sent and invited

me to come to him. He and his monks say that their Church is the whole Catholic Church, the only Church representing the Ecumenical Councils, and holding and teaching the true Orthodox Catholic Faith, whole and undefiled; while the whole Latin Communion and all the Westerns are guilty not only of secondary errors or abuses, but of heresy in the article of the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son, which we, they say, have interpolated into the Creed. This apostasy, they think, was not made all at once, but gradually and by distinct stages. They accused the Latins of having interpolated or corrupted all those passages of the Latin Fathers, earlier than the schism, in which the present Latin doctrine is asserted. They seemed not to believe that Pope Leo III., while he condemned the interpolation of the Creed, yet allowed that the *doctrine* was true, and might be taught, saying that the report of Charlemagne's messengers was a one-sided statement. They admitted that there has been at times intercommunion between the Eastern and Western Churches, even since that question was raised; but they thought this to be explainable, on the ground first, that the Latin heresy was not yet fully developed; and secondly, because the Latins dropped and dissembled the question in the East at each temporary reconciliation, while the Easterns, having been so long used to intercommunion, and coming little into

direct contact with the Latins, owing to the difference of language and rite, did not readily or all at once, feel at what moment the error had become universal and incorrigible in the Western Church.

I said: "If this be so, why call your Church any longer the *Eastern*, when you ought rather to call it the Catholic or Ecumenical Church, and to be zealous by prayer and action to instruct and reclaim so large a portion of the Christian world, which you think has lapsed into heresy?" They replied: "Our Church is in truth the whole Orthodox Catholic Church, and she calls herself so distinctly; and the term *Eastern*, as now used by us, does not denote any local circumscription *in space*, as it once did, but rather historical and local origin, because Christianity was from the East: Ex Oriente lux; we pray towards the East: we expect Christ from the East; and Christ is Himself the Everlasting East. From the West the catechumen turns away when he is to be baptized, and has to renounce the powers of darkness."

I said: "You ought then to send missionaries to convert us. And is it not a great difficulty to suppose that the half of the visible Church really lapsed a thousand years ago into heresy, and yet has continued ever since, during so many centuries, not only to maintain itself, but even to increase, beyond the true Orthodox Church, so as now to stand to it as two-

thirds to one-third? and has produced so many men of eminent sanctity, and has shown such a powerful and varied energy, and has outlived such storms and attacks and losses, since the separation?" They replied: "Our church knows not any of the Saints or miracles done by the Latins since the separation." Still, they seemed to have an idea, that the Latin Church has preserved a kind of existence, though heretical, comparing it with the Ten Tribes, and even speaking of the assembly of another General Council as "desirable, but difficult by reason of the Schism." And they thought that it might at any time recover its full rights and place in the Universal Church, the primacy of the Roman See included, by merely correcting its fault, and submitting itself again to the Ecumenical Canons, against which it has rebelled.

The archimandrite spoke much of Ascetic Theology (his favourite subject), and made all the strength of the early Church to have lain in the ascetic spirit, which the Eastern Church has kept, but the Latins have more or less lost. He alluded to several ancient writers, especially to St. John Climacus. Speaking of Cassian, he remarked: "You in the West, say '*Saint* Augustine,' but only 'Blessed Cassian,' but we, on the contrary, say '*Saint* Cassian,' but only 'Blessed Augustine." There is nothing in Cassian but what he had taken from St. John Chrysostom, though the Western

tax him with Semi-Pelagianism: Augustine had more genius, eloquence, and learning than asceticism, and was a good deal of a disciple of Origen. The works of Origen are regarded by the Easterns as heretical; and Origen himself as all but an heretic; while the West has been very tender towards him. However, Cassian was dead before his disciple Prosper caused Augustine to write: and there was no open difference between Cassian and Augustine. Augustine speaks very strongly of Predestination, which the Greeks have made to depend on foreknowledge; and we cannot but observe that both Luther and Calvin, though no doubt they misunderstood him, professed to follow Augustine as their teacher." He spoke much of Acacius (who lived during the interval between Photius and Cerularius) as a great master of Asceticism, and as a Saint, for the Greek Church.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Reminiscences of the Sergiefski Monks.

THE following are extracts from a diary kept at the time, and here thrown together.

They told a story of St. Antony, surnamed the Roman, who, in A.D. 1206, sailed round on a stone from Old Rome to Great Novgorod in two days and two nights, and a barrel or chest, containing church ornaments came with him, following him under the sea. I asked what evidence they had for this? They replied: "We know nothing about evidence: all that we poor monks have to do is to believe: but if you wish for evidence, you may go to Novgorod, where the stone is still shown, in the monastery which the Saint founded there."

There are many miraculous *icons* in Russia—above seventy, I think one of them said: and scarcely any city is without some Relics, by which miracles of healing are still often wrought, and evil spirits expelled.

In A.D. 1829 there was at the Solovetsky Monastery a monk who, like St. Anthony the Great, had frequent conflicts with the devil, having attained great perfection by living as a hermit only on roots and berries. At last he was severely beaten, and was found with his back broken and nearly dead, yet he lived on six months.

The Father Tchihacheff knows an Englishman at St. Petersburg who witnessed a miracle of St. Metrophanes of Voronege quite recently. The saint appeared to an officer who was thought to be dying during the night as if standing by his bedside; the Englishman being at the time in the room (though *he* did not see the vision); and the next morning the sick man was well.

In answer to some question about work with books, they said that there are very few books in their library, and that their business is not to study, nor to do work of any other kind, not even for the service of religion, but to sing the divine offices and to live first for the good of their own souls, and then also to do penance for the world. (Their black habit denotes penitence.)

They asked, "Do you find our fleas, and other vermin, and the gnats which come in at the windows, troublesome?" I confessed I had found them very troublesome, especially the first night, when I scarcely slept a wink.

One of them said that he had come from a monastery in the south, where they are more like hermits and wear coarser habits, though they have no strict hermits now in Russia. Here, though their monastery is called an hermitage (*poustin*), they all wear cotton velvet (demi-velours). This was ordered with some other relaxations by the Emperor Alexander, because they were so near the capital. As for us, they said, our bodies are used to those creatures; for though we take our baths like other Russians, we change our under-garments only once a week, once a fortnight, or even once a month. "Is that by preference," I asked, "or by rule?" "No," the speaker replied, "from neither, but from poverty: and, after all, those creatures have their use, to teach one patience. In the south the monks swarm with them." He seemed to wonder at my questions, and especially at my wish to turn some of their monasteries into working and learned communities; and he kept repeating that prayer and holiness have more efficacy than learning or work of any kind. "Yes, yes," I said, "but the Church needs both." He seemed to think that the current had already set far too much in the direction of intellectual cultivation. "The white clergy," he said, "are all over-burdened with work and families" (the latter he seemed to think at best a necessary evil), "and the Academicians" (meaning all the higher monastic clergy) "are equally

taken up with work and instruction. The monasteries are little thought of by anybody, though they have more than once saved Russia."

He continued, "The secular clergy are infected with liberalism.[1] They read Lutheran and other bad foreign books; and the bishops, though better than they were at the end of the last century, are no friends of monasticism in the true sense of the word. Only five out of fifty (one of the five being the Metropolitan of Kieff) protect the monks; for though they are all by profession monks themselves, yet they are also all Academicians, and under the influence of the civil power. Peter the Great would have destroyed monasticism altogether if he could, but he was not strong enough to do that at once, and he died. It was no merit of his that it has been preserved. And now to how few are the monks in Russia reduced! There were once above 40,000, there are now only 4000, in 400 monasteries, and perhaps 16,000 inferiors. And who is there now of the great men of the world, or of princes, who ever thinks of receiving the tonsure, either in life, or before death? That is contrary, alas! to the ideas dominant everywhere."

[1] [One must recollect that in every nation there is a multitude of parties and classes, with their separate *esprit de corps*, traditions, antagonisms, &c. &c. What these good monks say of other bodies must not be taken to the letter; this applies with still greater force to some of the statements made in the chapters which follow.]

The ideal of their monastic life is or was to divide the twenty-four hours of the night and day into three equal parts, and to give on the whole eight hours to the divine offices (though if fully performed they would often take more), eight to labour, and eight for meals, sleep, and recreation. In some places in Russia, as at the Valaam Monastery (on an island in the Ladoga Lake) the monks really do labour, as in primitive times. But in most cases there is considerable remissness in this respect. Nor do the church services, though long, fill up, as they are commonly performed, so much as eight hours, though certainly they do not take less than six.

In other monasteries there is much more dirt, and more vermin than here. The monks wear coarser shirts, and gowns of serge or hair, and lie harder, and sing the offices at greater length. They wear a cross on their breast, and a cross (quite small) under their shirt, on the middle of their breast. All rise in the morning before four or five a.m., and sleep two hours after dinner, which is at half past eleven a.m. or at twelve, after the liturgy. They communicate three or four times in the week, and priests generally confess once a quarter, lay people once a year only (though to communicate four times, i.e. at the four fasts, is recommended) and to communicate once at Easter is required of all by the Church. They live in hopes that one day

or other the monasteries and churches may regain their possessions. Some monasteries even now possess a fish-pond and a farm or so. This one has a farm in the neighbourhood which is managed by a monk. The people are not allowed to give or bequeath serfs to the monasteries, but they may give or bequeath money, houses, or lands. Only for this there must be a special permission from the Emperor: and the people do not think much of making any such gifts or bequests now. The efforts, however, which are making by the Government to improve the maintenance of all the parochial clergy (who have never been plundered), are truly laudable, and may fairly be thought to be some sort of reparation for the spoliation of the episcopal and monastic estates in former times.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Sergiefsky Reminiscences continued.

THEY showed a strong feeling against the Pope; and listened readily when I maintained that it is wrong to call his followers Catholics; and still more wrong to call them all alike Catholics, as if there were no difference between the Christians of dioceses originally Latin, and those schismatics who to follow the Pope separate themselves from the Eastern or from the British Churches.

Another time when I had blamed the virulence of Theophanes Procopovich in calling the Pope (or perhaps he meant the Roman Church) "Romana *Bestia*," the Father Tchihacheff laughed, and said, "He would have been equally ready to call the Russians *bestias*, if the Tsar had wished him to do so. Theophanes Procopovich was a man of light character, though clever and eloquent."

"The morals of the capital," they said, "are worthy of Babylon: there are theatres, and balls, and masquerades,

which were unknown in Russia till the time of Peter I. Our clergy are the most accessible of all in the world to new and strange opinions, they read books written by heterodox or unbelieving foreigners, Lutherans, and others. The Spiritual Academy is infected with innovating principles, and even "the Christian Reading," though that periodical contains many translations from the old fathers. Russia may be on the point, for all we know, of an explosion of heretical liberalism. There is a fair outside: we have preserved all the rites and ceremonies, and the creed of the early Church: but it is a dead body: there is little life. The secular clergy are kept in an hypocritical orthodoxy only by fear of the people." I said, "What you want, I think, is a clear *view* of that Catholic unity which has been lost, and a lively *charity* and zeal to restore it." They repeated, "Yes, that Catholic Unity of which you seem now in England to have so clear a view."

They told me that the Metropolitan of Moscow, Philaret, was prevented from marrying by Platon, who said to him, "You must be my successor." They said that Philaret is "*quite* Orthodox," and they do not seem to have any suspicion of the orthodoxy of Platon, whose short History of the Russian Church (very bitter against the Pope and the Jesuits) they strongly recommended.

In spite of their gloomy apprehensions from libe-

ralism and spiritual deadness, and at the very time that they were lamenting that monasticism, in its true sense and spirit, has been reduced very low, they boasted that the monks, however, have saved Russia, not only in time past, when they were more numerous and more powerful, and when the Troitsa Monastery of St. Sergius headed that national rising against Latin Poles which placed the Romanoffs on the throne, but also quite recently. At another time, while asking questions about the Anglican Church with a friendly interest, and with a wish that it might be capable of uniting with their own, one of them exclaimed, "Ah! if you admit the Filioque into the Creed, and will not omit it, there is not the least possibility of union. Our Emperor is powerful, very powerful: they say he has a million of men in his army; but if he attempted to make a union with the Latins on those terms, he would only be subverting his throne, and plunging Russia into unheard of calamities. There was a Minister (Prince Alexander Galitsin, now sixty years old) a great favourite of the Emperor Alexander who had some such scheme, but it was stopped at once by the firmness of one of our archimandrites named Photius. And he it was who afterwards made such effectual remonstrances against the Bible Societies, which had been established too by the same Minister. Those Societies, we are well aware, would have introduced into Russia all the heresies of

Protestantism, and would have substituted for Christianity indifference as to religious opinions. And yet our Church, unlike the Roman, would certainly encourage the people to read the Bible."

Once when I was lamenting the division of East and West, the archimandrite said: "No, I think it has been permitted for good, that the liberties of the Church, and a pure testimony to Antiquity, might be preserved for future unity. Else we might here have been enslaved by the Pope." I said: "We in England comfort ourselves with like reflections." The Greeks in like manner often say that God has raised up the *Turk* to defend them against the Pope!

The Archimandrite and his Vicar both asked "why have not the English a bishop at Petersburg? The Lutherans have their Superintendent, and the Catholics have an Archbishop." I replied: "The Anglican Church has never yet *invaded* the diocese of other bishops." They did not seem to see how it could be an invasion. As usual, I found fault with them for calling any of the Latins, and still more for calling the Latins living here in Russia, *Catholiques*. At this they laughed good-humouredly, and said: "Though you have corrected us for this twenty times, still we find the same word continually turning out."

They constantly spoke of "Confessions" (as we do of *Denominations*), and could not understand my adding

the note of *original* and *legitimate* jurisdiction in this or that diocese or region; and when I claimed for the British Churches a right to adhere to or to return to those decrees of British or other Western Synods, which disallowed the Canon of the Second Nicene Council for the reverencing of images, they insisted that that council had always been *received* by the *Pope*, who was Patriarch of the West; and they seemed to think that the Pope's authority was quite enough to overrule the opposition of any local Western churches.

Besides the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son, the source of which doctrine the Archimandrite found in Origen (and Augustine he regarded as in a great measure a disciple of Origen), and some passages, seeming to favour it, which he had found afterwards to be Latin interpolations, they spoke against the omission of the Invocation of the Holy Ghost in the Latin Mass as a change which one of them thought to be the second in magnitude of all their errors, rendering even the consecration doubtful: also, against their consecrating in Azymes, multiplying altars and masses in the same church, and muttering *low* masses. They extolled the greater antiquity and greater propriety of various observances in their own rite; as the fixing of the Holy Table in the midst of the sanctuary, and not against the wall; their practice of baptizing by trine immersion, of giving the Chrism and

the Holy Communion at once to the baptized, and not disjoining them; of calling not one priest only but "the elders, *i.e.* the priests," together to anoint the sick, and using that unction for recovery, not simply as a preparation for death. They spoke too against Purgatory, and against Indulgences, and against the use for divine worship of a language *altogether* unknown to the people; and they blamed the Latins for calling them all monks "of the Order of St. Basil," whereas they said, "St. Basil himself was rather a monk of our order, which came from Egypt. The Copts of Egypt to this day are much nearer to us than they are to the Latins, as the Latins themselves are forced to admit, and they would be much more easily converted to us." M. Mouravieff thinks that the Armenians also (who, he says, have long lost the Monophysite heresy) might easily be united to the Russian Church if it were not for the prejudices of the Greeks: as I have already said. They approved of the use of confessionals in the Latin churches.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Sergiefsky Reminiscences continued.

AS to Lutherans, they observed that the Lutherans have abolished the sacrifice of the liturgy (or mass), and have none.

Then, besides the priesthood, the Protestants have abolished the Chrism or Confirmation, and they deny the intercession of the Saints, and revile the relics and the holy *icons*, and deny the Seven Sacraments.

The Archimandrite said that not long ago the priest of that parish at St. Petersburg, in which the Lutheran Superintendent lives, was sent for to the house of the Superintendent to sing a *moleben* (consolation) there, with the Te Deum, I think, for some family occasion; and he supposed that this was for some Russian tenant lodger, or visitor; but he was greatly astonished to find afterwards that it was desired by the Lutheran Superintendent himself. When he expressed his surprise, he was answered: "Ah! Batushka, we have not any of those consolations which are to be found in your rites and ceremonies."

Note that these monks did not mention as one of the errors of the Lutherans their ascribing a super-episcopal power to the civil laws.

"It seems," they said, "that the Latins" (Catholiques, they generally said, but I tried to make them say Latins or Romanists) "and the Lutherans must have misrepresented and calumniated the Anglican Church. We know only French and German books, which describe the English sometimes as Lutherans, sometimes as Calvinists, and sometimes as a mixture between the two." "Well," I said, "you have not found either Lutheranism or Calvinism, I think, in Bishop Andrewes' Preces Privatæ" (which I had given them, and with which, like the Archpriest Koutnevich, they were much pleased). "No, indeed," they said; and turning to the title "Intercessiones" and to the next, "*Gloria tibi Domine*," &c., they said, "A Lutheran would never have written that."

They asked many questions: "Have you any Lutherans among you?" *Answer:* "All the sects in England are rather of Calvinistic origin; but the Wesleyan Methodists have the Lutheran doctrine of Justification by *faith*, which Wesley learned from Jacob Boehmen." "If a Lutheran pastor (or Presbyterian minister) wishes to join the Anglican Church, how is he received?" *Answer:* "As a layman." "Have you retained the Sacrament of Chrism or

Confirmation? Have you the invocation of the Holy Ghost in your Liturgy, or do you follow the Roman Church, which now consecrates without any invocation (for they have *changed* their Liturgy and omitted the Invocation) by the recitation only of Christ's words? Do you consecrate Azymes, or leavened bread? Have you many altars in one church, and low masses, or not? Do you give the Communion in both kinds to the people? Are your Church Offices in English or in Latin? Have you *phenolia*, or the Latin vestment (chasuble) answering to them? Of what form are the mitres of your bishops, and their croziers? Have you altars like ours, or like those of the Catholiques? Have you crosses and lights on the altar? How many? and incense in your worship? Have you the invocation of the Saints? and Relics of Saints? and holy Icons?" *Answer:* "In all these things and in numberless others the Anglican Church has by successive violences and other influences been stripped perfectly bare."

"It is not long ago," the Archimandrite said, "that a lady presented to me an Anglican 'Pastor' or 'Ministre,' who was quite a 'gentleman,' but who by no means prepared me to find such prayers as these (of Bishop Andrewes), which you have given me, used or recommended by an Anglican bishop. For that pastor told me that there are *only two* sacraments (or mys-

teries), and that matrimony is *not* a sacrament, though St. Paul expressly says it is; and it is the only one of the seven to which the name mystery or sacrament is formally given in Holy Scripture." Also he noticed that Bishop Andrewes admitted the intercession of the Blessed Virgin and the saints, the Real Presence, Prayers for the Departed, &c., &c. "Certainly," he said, "no Lutheran or Calvinist would ever have compiled or used this book. But do your people really acknowledge this bishop?" *Answer:* "Certainly they do, and they all agree to call him one of the best and greatest divines of their Church."

On Saturday, September 28 [o.s.], the Vicar being in St. Petersburg yesterday saw there an English lady, a member of the Anglican Church, who assured him that they have in their Church no such thing as a deacon. On the other hand, the Archimandrite mentioned with pleasure that he had found in Bishop Andrewes' Preces Privatæ two hymns which they sing here every morning and evening, and he showed them to me in his Slavonic Psalter. He told his friend, the Archimandrite Athanasius, of the Nefsky Lavra, whom I must go and see, that it seemed that the Latins had misrepresented, *after their fashion*, the Anglican Church. They asked: "What part does the deacon take in the services of your Church? Does he wear an *Orarion* like ours (so as to be distinguishable from a common clerk) and a tunicle?

Of what stuff and colour is it? and how many crosses are there upon it?"

They asked whether we had in our Churches any "Relics of Saints," and said that they were continually finding in Russia uncorrupted bodies of saints, which are to be seen and touched in their churches; and persons possessed are often brought to them and evil spirits expelled.

They spoke too of confession, to which the people come during Lent, finding the priest in the church either on Friday after the Matins, or on the Saturday (the *Subbot*) after Vespers (after the Great Compline), or else going to his house. He has a cross with him, and lays the end of his *epitrachelion* or stole on the head of the penitent in giving him absolution. They asked whether we also have such confession and absolution? I replied, as I had replied on the same subject to the Archpriest Koutnevich, referring to our "Visitation of the Sick," &c.

CHAPTER XL.

Sergiefsky Reminiscences continued.

ONCE they said: "But if the Anglican Church is so much like ours, why should we be divided?" I said: "I am in heart and wish a member of your Church while I am here." They said: "Ah! you must talk to our bishops, and see what they say: you see we are only poor monks. But then you are only an individual; the thing necessary is to know what are the sentiments of your Church." *Answer:* "I speak as being a member of the Church from which I come, and I do not wish to misrepresent it; but others speak contrary to me, and, as I think, to their Church: of such I know that there are very many." "But what," they asked, "is the opinion of your *bishops* on these matters?"

The Archimandrite said he would learn English for the good of the Church, and asked for a list of good English books. The Vicar said he would learn too. On this I asked the archimandrite whether he would receive an offering of alms to the monastery to engage

their prayers for the Church of England, that it may be delivered from all its enemies, and united in communion with the Eastern Churches. But he at once answered that he could not. "I must ask Count Pratasoff and the Synod." I asked: "But cannot you receive alms from individuals or from families for prayers for the good of their souls?" "Yes," he said, "we can; and then we put a particle taken from a *prosphora* (to represent the giver of that oblation) on the disk or paten, together with the rest of the particles taken from the five *prosphoræ* always used, and make mention of him after the rest in the Liturgy." "And cannot you, then, do this for the Church of England, or for the intention of any one of her members who seeks it?" "No," he said, "that is impossible. For in a matter concerning other Churches, we may do nothing without consulting the bishop, and he again would have to apply to the Synod."[1]

"We do pray every day for the unity of the Church; but a special prayer is another thing. You are going back to Petersburg, and, since you are already in communication with Count Pratasoff and M. Mouravieff, you have every facility; and the Synod itself will be

[1] [There is nothing unreasonable in this. Mr. Palmer asked them to recognize the English Church, as a Church, and to pray for its purification and prosperity. This was deciding what may be called a dogmatic fact.]

very glad to know what doctrine you hold, and I dare say it would be ready to appoint some one or more to meet and confer with any who might be appointed by the Anglican Church." I said, "I do not think that things will go on so rapidly as that. More frequent communication and better knowledge of one another may produce gradually a good feeling; but at present we are still under a cloud; still fighting as if for our lives; and all the outward surface of things among us is Protestant, and would shock members of other Churches at every point. It will not be till we get the upper hand, and the outward appearance of things changes, as it will then change rapidly, that we may hope to see excited in foreign Churches such a sympathy and interest as may lead to reunion. As yet we have not by any means the upper hand, but virtue goes so sensibly out of the Church at every blow struck at her by her enemies (the Protestant and Popish schismatics) or by the Civil Government, that already we feel a lively hope that all will end well." "Ah," they said, "if there could be a union of the Eastern and English Churches we should rejoice much more for that than for the return of the Uniats: the world would not be long divided." I said, "This work must be begun by our learning to wish for it and to pray for it." "Well," they said, "you will go back to Petersburg, and God will prosper you, we hope."

They suggested that the best thing for me to do would be to ask Count Pratasoff and M. Mouravieff to put me into the Spiritual Academy. I replied that that was just what I had myself wished and asked for: but that for some reason they were against it. They said: "The students in the Academy ought to learn English: at present they read only German and French, and the German and French writers, we see now, both Catholics and Protestants, misrepresent the Anglican Church. Besides that, however, we cannot but think that the English were strangely ignorant of their own Church and religion; for they seem to be almost all in outward behaviour and in their language mere Protestants, holding all kinds of opinions, and worshipping with different Protestant sects."

Father Michol Tchihacheff is by origin from Pskoff, and the Archimandrite Ignatius Brenchininoff is from Novgorod. They were both in the army. Tchihacheff had a Lutheran preceptor at first, who told him that the Latin confession was *Eglise*, the Greek only *culte*, which for some time he believed to be true. The Emperor liked Brenchininoff; and the friends of both of them were much opposed to their becoming monks, and annoyed at it. The Emperor too did not like that Brenchininoff should become a monk; but at length he gave him this place, and desired to see him again that he might find out whether he liked him as well as

a monk as he had liked him before as a soldier. Now they go every year at Easter to congratulate the Emperor on his birthday. Another of the monks was also a soldier, which may account for his speaking French. The title given to the Archimandrite is in English, High-Venerability. The Archimandrite-Vicar is Theophanes. Father Alexis Batchkoff was a merchant. Theodore was intended for the army: he, having not yet taken the *mandya*, has no monastic name. When I spoke of their having borrowed so much Latin terminology (and some ritual customs too) from the West, the vicar said: "Why, Kieff, the source of all our schools was quite under Latin influence, and there they were in close contact with the Uniats and the Poles."

CHAPTER XLI.

Return to Petersburg with one of the Sergiefsky Monks.

ON Monday, September 30th [o.s.], I returned to Petersburg, one of the Fathers accompanying me. I said that it was desirable that the monasteries should be again endowed with property, and so rendered more independent of secular influence. "Ah!" he replied, "what we want is a Patriarch. As it is now, Pratasoff is our Patriarch, though a soldier, as he represents the Emperor. He goes to balls and theatres, dances well, and is 'un très galant homme—mais—'" I began to qualify this, as if he were only the Great Logothete (ὁ μέγας Λογοθέτης), &c., &c. "Yes, yes," he said, "if *all* the bishops opposed any dangerous innovation, it could not be effected, except through the Synod; but if the Synod (through the influence of the Crown) were to do anything bad, why, we should have to submit: there would only be so many more Raskolniks (dissenters)." Speaking of the present composition of the Synod, he admitted that it was bad to have two priests placed

on a footing of perfect equality with bishops to govern the Church. "The best excuse that can be made is to say, that they may be useful to represent the married clergy, and to explain all matters connected with their state, all the other members of the Synod being monks. Philaret of Moscow was made Archbishop at the age of thirty; the earliest age at which a monk under Peter the Great's rules can become a priest. He is so subtle (fin) and versatile, that he can turn the Synod round his finger, and make them believe black to be white. Whatever he takes up will be done, that is, if the Count Pratasoff approves. He, Philaret, is very well in his present place, as *second*; but Heaven preserve us from having him as Metropolitan at Petersburg! He is ambitious; and I should fear if the Count wished to make any bad innovation, he would bring his mind to it, and together with himself he would bring over all the rest. However, he is *quite* orthodox. The old Metropolitan Seraphim is a cypher. The Metropolitan Philaret of Kieff is a friend of the monks, an excellent and orthodox man, but retiring, and of no eloquence. Mouravieff lives a [1] regular life, different from the rest, and he is in a manner near to becoming a monk. It is better to be *Unter-Prokuror* than to be Archimandrite, or même évêque, or même archevêque, or metropoli-

[1] [Monastic?]

tain" (laughing); &c., &c. All read and admire his books. He brought (continued the Father) the French Ambassador, M. de Barante, to be present at our liturgy, one day in Lent (i. e. in 1840), and he dined with us afterwards, as you did the other day on the festival of St. Sergius. He said openly that he saw that in many respects we are more primitive in our liturgy than are the Latins. Some time afterwards the Archimandrite met Madame de Barante at Petersburg, and talked with her about some ascetic book, and pleased her so much, that she insisted on his coming to their house. This he did, and dined there, and I (said my companion) was with him. This was afterwards reported to the Emperor (though he had first consulted Pratasoff, who thought it well that he should go) by some one who was jealous of him for having access to the Emperor and being in his favour. And the Emperor said: "Qu'il reste dans son couvent!" And this order has only so far been relaxed since, through the intercession of the Metropolitan, that he may now go on business of his convent to the city. "In old time," he said, "our princes of the line of Ruric were often monks, and even saints. Now they are all soldiers; and nothing is worshipped but what is military."

I said perhaps Russia is preparing for her great mission—the deliverance of the Eastern Churches and

the overthrow of the Turkish Empire. It is for the interest of true Catholicism that the Eastern Churches should recover themselves, and that their life and power should tell upon the enslaved and corrupted Churches of the West.

He went on and said: "The present military mania is necessarily very unfavourable to the strict morality and simplicity of early times. Now the Emperor, instead of wearing a beard and a kaftan, as of old, is always surrounded by soldiers, and he goes to the theatre." He said that "there are some families living in this neighbourhood to whom the monks sometimes, when invited, go out. They find that they need to eat more of their fish diet, and that they get weak in Lent, when they do not eat fish except on Sabbaths and Sundays. Now the clergy are a caste, and all the higher classes of this world, not to mention princes, set their political expediency and worldly fashions above religion and the Church. A true type and *beau idéal* of the due relations of Church and State was once exhibited in Russia by the Patriarch Philaret and the Tzar Michael; when the secular power was with the son, but honour, reverence, and the obedience of affection was due to the father, and was given to him."

CHAPTER XLII.

Conversation with M. Mouravieff.

NEXT day, October 1 [o.s.], I saw M. Mouravieff, and was led to ask him, "Could you not make two or three of your Monasteries into learned Societies, like those of the Benedictines?" M. Mouravieff said, "Much cannot be done at present. If forced celibacy is the trouble of the Latin Church, forced marriage is that of ours. And this is contrary to the spirit of the Canons, contrary to the directions of St. Paul. It rests merely on local custom. Nearly all our clergy, black as well as white, are sons of clerks. So they are a complete caste. Nobles, merchants, soldiers, and princes are free to become priests, but they never do. But what is to be done? We do not live now in the age of the Councils, when such things could be changed."

Again, he said, "Our monks, with few exceptions, are all peasants. The ritual offices of the monks of the Thebaid were imported into Russia entire; and if they

were all said, as they ought to be, Matins would often take five or six hours, Liturgy two, Vespers and the rest three; in all, from eleven to thirteen hours, so as to leave but short intervals for food and rest, and certainly not much time for study. In actual use they are somewhat curtailed, and they are further shortened by being hurried over; still they occupy a large part of the day." N.B.—Those I heard at the Sergiefsky took six or seven hours. "And our monasteries have never been anything more than Houses of Prayer. Certainly, it might be well to change somewhat; *mais, que voulez-vous?* We must do the best we can, and improve what we have got."

I told him how the monks had advised me to ask for a cell in the Spiritual Academy. He said, "They are always occupied; you would see nobody. The interior of the Academy would not please you; you would have fleas, bugs, and other annoyances. The inmates are not a community, but peasant clergy and sons of clergy, with all their peculiarities and prejudices; you would be a sort of strange animal for them. They would regard you as a heretic; and their having an English deacon there would be a scandal. They have not your ideas of unity, and would not understand them."

I said, "It seems they can enter into Protestant ideas; why not into Catholic? One might perhaps do

something to conciliate them, and to change their dispositions towards us."

He answered, "You would not get on among them, not even though you conformed to all their usages; and the Russian youths are very mischievous and sarcastic, and they might make you uncomfortable. Why not go and stay in the Sergiefsky?" I said, "When I spoke of that to them, they suggested rather the Nefsky or the Academy." "Oh, that," he said, "was only because the Archimandrite was not authorized to offer you a cell. In the meantime—though I don't think you will find one—you may see if you can get into the house of a white priest." And he recommended me to cultivate the acquaintance of the under-priest of the Isaac Church, named Stratelatoff. He said, "It is only because the Archimandrite and some of the monks at the Sergiefsky are gentlemen, that they received you so well there. Not only white clergy, but monks too, anywhere else, would have been far from cordial."

He said that "in the last century, here, as everywhere else, there was a leaning towards Protestantism. Peter III. and Catherine II. did much mischief, and had well-nigh abolished the monasteries; but now, all that is past, and there is everywhere a reaction; and the monks have nothing to fear. The only thing to be done now is, to keep things as they are, and to improve

them. You see, I speak frankly with you. I do not show you only our good side." I said, "There is good enough for my purpose; for my object is chiefly to help towards the correction of great and manifest evils in my own communion."

CHAPTER XLIII.

Conversations with M. Mouravieff, M. Skreepitsin, and the Priest Stratelatoff.

OCTOBER 2 [o.s.].—One, p.m., at the Synod, where I saw M. Mouravieff and M. Skreepitsin.[1] Had some further conversation with M. Mouravieff. On my urging on him, as on Fr. Brenchininoff, a special prayer for the Anglican Church, he said, "We know you only as heretics. You separated from the Latin Church 300 years ago, as the Latins had before that fallen away from the Greeks. We think even the Latin Church heretical; but you are an apostasy from an apostasy; a progression from bad to worse." I said, "We never separated by any synodical act from the communion of the Latin Churches, nor from that of the Eastern either. "How?" he exclaimed, "you were part of the Pope's patriarchate, and you rebelled against him." I said, "The Pope our Patriarch!" "How?" he said, "did he not send Augustine to convert you?—anyhow the

[1] [This gentleman seems to have had a place in Count Pratasoff's Chancery with M. Mouravieff; elsewhere he is called the Count's "colleague."]

Pope had acquired, and the Church had confirmed to him, very great power. And did not one of your kings even make England a fief of the Pope?"

He continued, "You had better say nothing to Count Pratasoff of that desire of yours for a special prayer for the Anglican Church. It is an idea quite new and unheard of.[2] Our business is to improve our own Church, and to keep in view the Raskolniks, not to scandalize our people by introducing any such novelty. What would the English and the French Ambassadors here say to it? Then, again, there are the Eastern Patriarchs, who know you only through the Latin Church,—through the Pope. If we had any communication with your Church, it must be through the Pope, and the Church of Rome, nor can we recognize you otherwise. Reconcile yourself to your own Patriarch first, and then come and talk to us, if you think you have anything to say to us. And you must imagine, not only what our Raskolniks and what the Greeks would say, but what would be said by the Latins, who are always watching us, and what by the Uniats, who have been so long in union with Rome."

[2] [As before, it need not be meant by this that they positively rejected the idea of praying for individual heretics, but of praying for an heretical Church; for they could not pray for it as a Church without acknowledging its existence; whereas Greece and Rome know Englishmen only as "Lutherans" and "Calvinists," and ignore the "Church of England."]

Being questioned by M. Skreepitsin, I owned without reserve the difference existing between our rules and our popular practices, taking to ourselves the verse of the Psalm, "Our soul is brought low, even to the dust." He asked, "Are there many in England who desire a real reformation?" and he added, "The Roman Church is looking up again in England, is it not?" I said, "Politically the Irish Papists and the Protestant Dissenters now have much power."

October 3 [o.s.]. — By suggestion of Count Pratasoff, I wrote to the Director of the Gymnasium, who was to find a man for me to teach me Russ and Slavonic. Also I called on the priest Stratelatoff, who lives in the same court with M. Malloff, and who had seen me at the Synod. We conversed in Latin. Respecting the Sacraments, he said that they also have the same distinction as I made between the two principal and the other five. "As to the *Procession*," he said, "our doctrine is this,—Spiritum Sanctum à Patre *per Filium* procedere, and that from all eternity the Spirit is the proper Spirit of the Son, not communicated to Him, but immanent in Him as His own Spirit."

On Sunday the 6th I saw him again. He said, "I have now read through your 'Introduction,' and I find it nearly all quite agreeable to our doctrine. There are, however, one or two points in which I

perceive a difference, as about the Procession and about Transubstantiation."

When I observed that Theophanes (that is, Zoernikav) admits passages in which the Holy Ghost is said to receive His substance from the Son, which is enough for us, he asked where were those passages, and he wished me to point them out. "Our Church," he said, "allows διὰ, *per Filium*, but nothing beyond that." I replied "that for me is a virtual agreement with us." (N.B.—But it is not enough for that Latin doctrine, which I then thought I was defending.) He did not see why I attached importance to the admission or exclusion of the word *accidents*, or why I distinguished the *natural* or *physical* substance from the *spiritual*. He knew nothing of any Synods [3] in the West having rejected the Seventh Council, and said that with them the Pope stood for all the West.

[3] [Council of Frankfort, A.D. 794 ?]

CHAPTER XLIV.

Polemical Attack on Mr. Palmer by a Russian Lady.

OCTOBER 7 [o.s.].—Dined at M. Riumine's, a Russian family. My host, speaking French and English, used such phrases as made one think of Dr. Pinkerton and the Bible Society; but a Russian lady, who was one of the party, and sister to the Superioress of an Institute, attacked me with vivacity on the highest orthodox ground. "I have heard of you," she said; "you have received, I understand, an absolute refusal to your proposal. I have been told you have brought a letter from your Church; but that can never be! No! never. Our Church is *most* tolerant, and molests none in his own religion. You may belong to any of these; but why should you interfere with us? We differ from the Catholics only in some *very small* points, yet we are quite impartial in our sympathies and aversions. Notre religion, et notre Eglise, est si bien consolidée; si bien consolidée qu'il serait impossible. Impossible!" she repeated. "No!" she said,

"no kind of union will ever be made by us so long as the world lasts, except on the condition that those who wish to unite conform to everything, 'jusqu'au plus petit rite;' and that, not only while here, but in their own country also. There are, I know, all sorts of political schemes, which have no place in religion. You can see much more clearly than I can explain what would be all the consequences, if you obtained what you are seeking. It would be to upset (bouleverser) all Russia. There are here different ambassadors—M. de Barante and others. What would they say? No, no: 'des torrents de sang doivent couler, avant que cela aie lieu,'" &c., &c. I laughed, and said I had no public mission whatever; if I asked to be admitted to communion, I did so only because I thought it to be my personal duty. She interrupted me, "To give communion to you would be to give it to all your church. I have heard about it all. You have your own church here; what do you want with ours?"

I explained to her, but quite in vain, the doctrine of the unity of the Catholic Church. I urged that she could not mean to claim for the Russian or Eastern Church that it was identical with the whole true Church. But she disclaimed the desire of any further unity. She often repeated: "Our Church is *most* tolerant; which English Church do you belong to?—for there are two here. Is your worship sermon only?

or is there prayer and ritual? Is your Church only in Oxford?—have you a chapel in London?" She returned to the idea of my having some public mission, or some political scheme. I told her that my public proposal for intercommunion on Catholic principles would probably meet with as much opposition in England as it would in Russia, for the English are as much disposed as the Russians to measure everything by themselves.

She took up the word "Catholic," and said, "We (Russians and Greeks she meant) are *Capholics*, but not Roman Catholics." Here our host turned the conversation, by the introduction of religious notions which were as unpalatable to her as mine. He spoke of the Sacraments of Baptism and the Holy Eucharist, and of the Church, in language which manifested a tendency in his own mind to separate the body of religion from the inward spirit. I said, "You have come in contact with dangerous ideas." On this, Mdlle N. sided with me against him. He went to say that all prayers for the dead are wrapped up in "Thy kingdom come," and that he recognized all as Christians who show by their answers that they love Jesus Christ. He spoke of M. Malloff's sermons as excellent.

Note, that when the Emperor Alexander was at Laybach [1821?], the Austrian Slavonian soldiers attending the Liturgy at his tent-church, and seeing all the same as

in their own worship, and hearing the Church-Slavonic, from which their vernacular Slavonic differs less than does the Russ, exclaimed publicly, according to Sir James Wylie, "This is our Emperor." At which the Emperor Alexander was much annoyed; and he and the Austrian ministers had some difficulty in preventing a still greater excitement. And it appears that any Russian Emperor might have them all with him—20,000,000 of Slavonians—Sir James says, (besides those which he has already), if he were to proclaim himself Emperor of the Slavs. There are fine roads within the Austrian territory which end suddenly before they reach the frontier, and all communication is strictly interdicted. It is even felony to possess a Russian book (?). So Austria has another source of weakness besides the Magyars of Hungary.

CHAPTER XLV.

Second Discussion with the Archpriest.

OCTOBER 10 [o.s.].—Went with Mr. Blackmore to see the Archpriest Kutnevich; the conversation was all about the Procession and Transubstantiation. I was content with those passages of the Fathers on the former doctrine, which Theophanes Procopovich (or rather Zoernikav) himself admits, without needing the words "Filioque," or "Procedere." For he admits passages in which the Holy Ghost is said to be from eternity, not only consubstantial with the Son, but proprius ejus *naturaliter*, in eoque inhærens, ut ipse in Patre, and to proceed δι' αὐτοῦ, *per* eum *substantialiter*, and to receive His substance from the Son; only he would distinguish between receiving eternally the substance of the Son, and receiving it *from* the Son by an act of His Person, which distinction may be admitted. (Here I unintentionally yield all to the Greeks.) The Archpriest would not admit that the Holy Ghost was

stated to have received His substance from the Son, nor would he admit any such distinction between the Substance and the Personality. (Here he unintentionally reasons on the side of the Latins.[1])

He denied the priority of the Son in relative order, on which I insisted; and though he seemed to understand the argument, he said it all fell to the ground because there is neither priority or posteriority in eternity, but the notion of time did not come into the question, any more than into the argument of the ancient Fathers for the Son's co-eternity with the Father, derived from the sun and his rays.

I had marked various passages of the Fathers, Athanasius, Gregory Nyssen, Cyril of Jerusalem, Epiphanius, &c.; but the Greeks have their own way of reading them, and the Archpriest insisted upon the

[1] [Mr. Palmer, if I understood him rightly, was in hopes that by the distinction of Substance and Person the antagonism between the Catholic Church and the Greeks might be destroyed, the Catholics maintaining the Procession, not according to person but according to substance, and the Greeks allowing it according to substance, though not according to person. But Petavius says, "Facile concesserunt Græci Spiritum Sanctum ex [Patris et Filii] esse substantiâ, dummodo non ut Filius ex Patris Personâ, sic ex Patris et [Filii] personâ Spiritus esse dicatur. Verum . . ridiculum est Spiritum Sanctum ex Filio esse at ex Filii substantiâ confitentem negare ex Filii esse personâ, quia Filius nihil aliud est nisi Persona Filii." De Trin. vii. 15 fin.]

authority of Scripture and the Councils, as a bar to all such speculative inferences and additions made by man (which is true, when individuals are in question, but not when used to limit the action of the church). In vain I repeated that the Greek Fathers, without the Latin, were enough for me; he seemed to blame and refuse all, or be resolved to make them bend, Romano potius quam Græco more, to the sense of the modern Greeks, just as if what I brought from them were the irreverent and innovating speculation of my own thoughts.

As to Transubstantiation, he found fault with my denial of it as held by them, especially with my saying that the Bread became Christ's "spiritual body," and that it was His Body "spiritually." I referred to St. Ambrose as my authority. He replied, "If St. Ambrose said so, he was only one man, but Christ's own words are stronger than all the evidence in the world. How else can it be?" I said St. Ambrose shall answer that: his words are:—"As the creature that is fed is changed by baptism, so is his food changed." Presently the Archpriest allowed that the substance was not destroyed but changed, as common food is changed into our flesh. "Therefore," he said, "Rome has no need to suppose any such abolition," [2] and he said, (*apropos* of a point which I went on to argue,) "The

[2] [*Vid. infr.* p. 281, note.]

accidents or appearances are miraculously retained." I said I could show him my doctrine in many Fathers, Latin and Greek; he said, "I do not believe it, and if you can, I will say that they are wrong." I said, "We both professed to follow the unanimity of the Fathers. He answered, "Yes, their unanimity; but you might see in our Catechism what St. John Damascene says on this subject, and he wrote too at about the same time with that of Ratram or Bertram whose treatise you have lent me, but I have not had time to read it."

At parting the Archpriest thanked me for having made him acquainted with our "Pastor." I stopped my ears, at which they both laughed, and he corrected himself, and said "Presbyter."

CHAPTER XLVI.

Conversation with the Priest, Pafsky.

OCTOBER 11 [o.s.].—Went with Mr. Law's card to call on M. Pafsky, Protopope of the Church of the Tauride palace. He was preceptor to the Grand Duke Alexander, and was personally liked, but he was displaced through the Metropolitan Seraphim on account of his liberal opinions. He has published a book on the Russian language, said to be the best of its kind. He has also translated into Russ for the S.P.C.K. the English Prayer-book, in which, following the French *authorized* edition, he has everywhere rendered the word Priest by *Pastor*. In the Creed, for "Catholic" he substitutes "Universelle." He reads French, but does not speak it.

On my speaking of the *XVIII. Articles* of Bethlehem, he at once said, "They have made some alterations in them." About the *Orthodox Confession* he observed that the word Transubstantiation had been borrowed from the Latins; that Peter Mogila had studied at

Paris, and was as good as under the orders of the Pope when he wrote. I said, "He seems to me to have been zealously orthodox except where he suspected no danger." He replied, "Ah! ah! the whole of that church of Little Russia was in contact with the Latins and the Uniats, and nothing derived from it could be free from suspicion. The Russian Church had always held aloof from such novelties, but the word Transubstantiation has now at last been admitted by Philaret in his Catechism, and so stamped by the Synod with the authority of the Church. Still we are not bound to the (Roman) sense." I said, "Philaret's Catechism is only a modern version of the 'Orthodox Confession;' and I do not see how any one can deny the authority of the Orthodox Confession, seeing that if it was corrected and approved first by a Synod held at Jassy in 1642,[1] in presence of the Patriarchal Exarch, and then by the four Patriarchs themselves, and it was originally drawn up in Russia and for Russia." "Not for *our* Russia (i.e. not for Muscovy)," he said. "And we were far from admitting whatever

[1] ["In the Synod of Jassy, held under Parthenius, Patriarch of Constantinople, the Orthodox Confession drawn up under the direction of Peter Mogila in Little Russia and revised and altered by Malesius Syringa at Constantinople, was examined and approved." Blackmore's *Russian Church*, p. 396. It received the approbation of the four Patriarchs, *ibid.*, p. 395. Mogila was made Metropolitan of Kieff in 1632.]

came from Kieff. On the contrary, we were always jealous of all that came from thence. And as for the Greeks, they were quite capable of being led into a blunder." I said, "The XVIII. Articles in the Greek certainly contain one absurd blunder, that about the Canon of Scripture, which the Russian Synod has corrected." "Yes, yes," he said, and laughed heartily. He said, "The question of Transubstantiation has never yet been closely examined among us." He held at the same time that the bread is changed into the real body of Christ. Presently he showed that on the subject of the Church his ideas were by no means orthodox; for besides calling the Popish Churches, and societies indiscriminately, the Catholics and "the Catholic Church," which he does in common with everybody else here, he spoke of the Lutherans, the Anglicans, and the "Catholics," as all alike agreeing in fundamentals with the Greeks, as if opinions were Churches, and as if all these Confessions were equally parts of the true Church. I said, "The Lutherans none of them believe the *change* of the bread and wine in the Eucharist; they reject confirmation, which St. Paul calls an *element* of Christianity, part of the foundation, and they are rarely free from heresy respecting both the two great sacraments." He said, "They believe all the Creed." "They do not receive all the words," I answered; "they have changed the word 'Catholic' and sub-

stituted 'universal' or 'Christian.' Or, even if they receive all the words, it is in a sense of their own, and that heretical." "Heretical?" he said, and laughed; "but *they think* it right: they receive the same Creed as we do, only they understand it differently." *Answer.* "But the truth lies not in opinion, and the authority is with the bishops, who also have the certainty arising from Christ's promise." He objected, "But you can no more pretend to that Apostolical authority than can the Lutherans, you have not the Apostolical succession of bishops." I said, "If I thought that, I would not remain a member of the Church of England. But the Lutherans, instead of protesting as against an unjust excommunication, declared that they had come out of Babylon, and founded new and human Churches out of the Bible." "Well," he said, "it *was* in a manner Babylon, so enormous were the corruptions." "Be it so, if you please," I said; "but at any rate the rabble of the Protestant sects is more Babylon than Babylon itself." He laughed. I continued, "The very names they give to their new clergy show them to be no church." He said, "Pastor and Priest are all one; their Pastors or Priests were made by others, and they are ordained by imposition of hands, and hand down what they have received." I said, "Even if they had come originally from priests, those priests who first ordained pastors did not hand down any gift that they had received,

for they had received no power to ordain; nor, if they had, did they ever profess to exercise it. If I laid hands on your servant here, professing to make him a preacher of my opinions, would that make him a *deacon?* to say nothing of the priesthood, and of the episcopate?" He laughed, and said, "No, certainly, it would not." "I therefore, at least, you admit, cannot hand down anything that I have received. And as for the Calvinists, Calvin was not even a deacon." He said, "At all events you Anglicans are in the same case with them, since you are equally excommunicated by the Pope." *Answer.*—"A quarrel between Apostolical Churches, as that of the Easterns and the Westerns, and that of the English bishops against the Continental Latins, does not prove the nullity of either side, even though they anathematize and invade one another. It is different for individuals who rebel against the whole Apostolical Episcopate." He had by him our Prayer-book in French.[2] He confessed that the question of the visible Church is one with which they occupy themselves very little. "There is just the same fixed character," he said, "in our Communion, and the same

[2] [Mr. Palmer repeats, "as published by authority for the Channel Islands. In this authorized translation used in the Churches, the word '*Catholic*' in the Creed is replaced by the word 'universelle;' and the word 'Priest' is uniformly translated 'Ministre.'"]

complete separation from all others as there is in the Roman. Nor can we admit any one to communion unless he be reconciled to us as to another Church and religion."

Mr. Law, on hearing that I had seen M. Pafsky, asked, "Well, you found him too Protestant for you?" I said, "Yes, I found him heterodox enough." "I thought you would," he replied; "but I can tell you, for all that, that he is a very excellent man and much liked and respected; and he certainly is a man of superior understanding and requirements."

CHAPTER XLVII.

Conversation with the Priest Sidonsky.

SUNDAY, October 13th [o.s.].—Went with my teacher of Slavonic to see the priest Sidonsky, protopope of the Kazan Sobor, and Professor of Philosophy, who is well acquainted with German literature, but ill-looked upon, my master says, by the heads of the clergy, as mixing human philosophy with religion. We conversed in Latin. He said that he did not study German with any idea of adopting German doctrines. On my saying, "We think that moral philosophy ought to be a handmaid to religion and to the Church;" he asked, "*What* philosophy do you follow? as that of Leibnitz, Des Cartes," &c.? I said, "We do not much like such modern and foreign writers. We read Aristotle and Plato and certain writings of our own divines to connect them with orthodox theology. The Germans are intellectual and laborious, but, owing to their unhappy state, all their books are infected with heresy. So it has been ever since they have made that wretched

boast of having come out of Babylon." He seemed to assent. But when we spoke of the definition of the *one* visible Church of the Creed, though he saw and admitted that there was an inconsistency in their manner of speaking with regard to it, he yet said, "We have no *need* to examine or to settle that question; and we never think about it. Our clergy not having acquired worldly power and pride, nor yielded to those corruptions which the clergy in the West yielded to, we have never felt any need of examining the question as regards the West." I said, "If it were not for the civil power which now hinders, but to which it is not safe to trust, you would both see internal divisions among yourselves multiply and spread, and, besides that, you would be unable to resist the force even of the pseudo-Catholicism of Rome. If you are a *part* only, where is the whole? Show us that Mother which we confess in the Creed, and to whom obedience from you and from us alike is due. There cannot be a part without a whole. There is one Communion claiming distinctly to be the whole, and in point of extent and numbers having better claim than any other, which is named the Catholic Church by your own lips, and by those of all her other enemies, and she boldly says that you belong to her; that you are a separated *part*, a dislocated limb, a rebellious child, a sheep that has strayed. Does not your conduct and language justify

her? You admit that you are only a part; she says that she is the whole. You seem to confess it; for you call her Communion 'the Catholic Church,' and you can never bring yourselves to say distinctly what is that *whole* of which you are a *part*. Does not this look as if you were indeed what she says you are? You may say that you call yourselves *Capholics* and the Latins only *Catholics*. We too make sometimes a similar defence of ourselves, viz. '*They* are only Roman Catholics, but *we* are the real Catholics.' But in spite of all such excuses there is a real weight in popular language."

"But suppose you take the other line, and assert, according to the esoteric doctrines of your Church books and formularies, that your Capholic Eastern Church is the whole Ecumenical Church, and that Catholicism is all Eastern by origin, as Rome says it is all Roman by obedience, still are you not strange people to pretend to be the whole Catholic Church? There are some millions of Lutherans and Calvinists subjects of the Russian Empire, whom you ought to try to convert to the true faith and Church; then, there are all the Latins, two-thirds of the Christian world; and, not only have you shown no zeal or power to correct and convert them, but you have been actually following and imitating them, seeking learning and theology in their schools, adopting their scholastic novelties, even holding Synods and drawing up expositions of doctrine

at their bidding and after their instructions. But let that pass; let us say nothing of the enormous improbability of the supposition that half of the Church has fallen away as a body, and, since its defection has gone on increasing in spiritual power and extent in a greater degree than the orthodox;—consider this, that in this one city and diocese you have had a colony of English (they tell me), 2000 or 3000, since the capital was transferred here. Now what have you done in 130 years for their souls more than if they were a herd of swine? *This* is the zeal and charity of the One, Holy, Catholic, Apostolic Church!"

He said, "Our church has always shown great moderation and tolerance, and" (as M. Pafsky also boasted) "has been careful not to condemn others." I said, "such moderation is cruel to others, and suicidal towards herself." He said, "A certain kind of zeal for religion has caused the spilling of much blood." I replied, "Such zeal as causes fighting and bloodshed, is carnal and satanical; the right zeal would rather cause the pouring forth of many prayers and tears." He said, "I must allow that there has been a culpable negligence; but nothing has forced us hitherto to consider the question of the definition of the Visible Church: whenever circumstances require it, it will no doubt be examined." I said, "The civil government is a very insecure bond of unity, as we are now learning

by experience in England. Whenever you come to have a liberalizing emperor, with ministers like our Lord John Russell and Lord Melbourne, instead of Pratasoffs and Mouravieffs, to let loose the Raskolniks and the "Catoliks" to vex and attack your Church, then you too will no doubt discover that it would have been better, instead of sheltering yourselves behind the most autocratic Emperor, to have tried to think and speak and act like true Catholics, not only, by recitation of the Creed, confessing with your lips the unity of the Church, but believing it in your hearts, and manifesting that belief in words and deeds."

CHAPTER XLVIII.

Dinner at Admiral Rikard's.

THE same day I dined with Admiral Rikard, whose sister is a Roman Catholic. His wife said that they have no idea of there being any discrepancy or opposition between the Bible and the Church. The Admiral said, "Prince Alexander Galitsin [1] is the first man of all with the Emperor, and he takes care of the Imperial family when the Emperor is absent. It is true that he was prevented by the Archimandrite Photius from favouring and introducing missionaries, but certainly (whatever you may have heard) he never was on the point of making any union with Rome. He has a magnificent private chapel, and his mode of receiving his friends is to invite them to attend the service there, and then if they like, they can stay and converse with him for a short time afterwards. He lives very retired, and gives no parties." The Admiral said that when he was at Rome the Pope (Gregory XVI.)

[1] [*Vid. supra.*, p. 138 ; *infra*, p. 258.]

would not talk French to him for fear of making mistakes, but he sent him one of their great palms, blessed on Palm Sunday, and at parting the Pope said to him, "Ricommando à lei i miei Cattolici," and when the Admiral seemed not to understand, he repeated with emotion the same words, "Ricommando à lei i miei Cattolici." Afterwards the Admiral (who had thought, or said that the "Catholiques" no more needed protection than the other confessions, all being equally tolerated) perceived clearly enough what the Pope had been thinking of, when the Uniats were reconciled to the Russian Church (in 1839). The Admiral spoke with horror and wonder of the irreligion of the French.

CHAPTER XLIX.

The Emperor inquires after Mr. Palmer.

OCTOBER 16th [o.s.].—A Russian gentleman called on me and told me that the wife of the present Maréchal de la Noblesse at Petersburg, "having heard much of me from the Emperor," wished to see me. He took me the same morning to call on her. In the course of conversation, she asked me whether I should like to have an interview with the Emperor, as perhaps it might be possible for her to obtain one for me. I said that if any good could come of it, I should be glad, but I thought I had no sufficient reason for desiring it. She said, "Who can tell?" I said I had no sort of public mission, nor authority, that my own private object needed no such personal presentation to the Emperor, and that I had good reason to be on my guard against giving any false impression, as some persons in England (to say nothing of the newspapers) were already disposed to regard me as undertaking,

out of my own private presumption, something like a public mission.

I had reason afterwards to feel satisfied that I had so answered, for Mr. Law, after giving a lesson in English to the Grand Duchess Alexandra, was asked by her whether he knew me, for "Papa told me yesterday that I had been sent by the University of Oxford to ascertain what possibility there might be of bringing about a union of the Churches."

Mr. Riumine came and told me that his wife, being the evening before with Mde. Potemkin, had given as a reason for his not coming, that he had an English deacon with him, on which Mde. Potemkin said that she wished to see me; so he took me with him, and presented me to her, when she said that she had heard of me from the Emperor, who told her that I had come from Oxford to study the Russian Church, and that the Ober-Prokuror, Count Pratasoff, had spoken favourably of me.

About this same time Mr. Law told me that, as he was reading with the Grand Duchess Alexandra the reign of Queen Elizabeth, she suddenly exclaimed, "What a wicked old woman she was! How I hate her!" And then she asked him whether he knew me, and she continued, "He is sent by the University of Oxford to try to make union with our Church." Mr. Law said that was a mistake, but she insisted upon

it. Mr. Law explained to her the distinction between the University and the separate Colleges at Oxford, and told her that what I had really brought was a letter of recommendation from the President of my College. But to return.

CHAPTER L.

Interview with Princess Potemkin and Prince Galitsin.

MADAME POTEMKIN made me explain my object, asking what mission or approbation of superiors I had, &c., and among other questions she asked whether we had any ecclesiastical dress, and had I brought mine with me? and she told me to come often to their house, and to come in my dress; they had a church, and I could go to the services in it when I did not go elsewhere. She seemed to understand at once what I meant by asking to be admitted to Communion, so as to disclaim any voluntary separation. She misused the word Catholic like all the rest. She said she had once been under the influence of Evangelical Protestantism, and had still some tenderness towards it; but she sees now that their use of words is not always correct, and adheres to Orthodoxy. In reply to some remarks on the general indifference and acquiescence in separation, she observed, "That is true,

the Catholics have much more zeal, and we are deficient in that respect." She said, "Your bishops live quite like gentlemen and men of the world; but though rich, they have not that spiritual character which ours have, nor the veneration attaching to it; and for this reason I have supposed that they must be a new creation of Protestantism."

While we were talking, Prince Galitsin[1] (the same that had been minister under the Emperor Alexander) came in. Mde. Potemkin was saying that the confession of all sins, venial and mortal alike, was required, but he cut short that discussion by observing that anciently matters of discipline varied, and Churches required from one another only agreement in essentials: "but now they are so fixed, each in its separate customs, that neither the Catholics nor we, nor the Anglicans I think, will yield a jot." Mde. Potemkin on my persisting in speaking only of the "Papists" or "Romanists" in England, objected, "But you do not deny the Churches on the Continent?" "Certainly not," I said. She said, "I, like you, would be most willing to communicate with the Catholics in those Churches, but I know that they would insist upon impossible conditions."

The Prince had heard that Catholicism is increasing rapidly in England, and that even the most prejudiced Protestants are changing and favouring Catholicism.

[1] [*Vide supr.*, pp. 138, 207.]

"I fear," he repeated, "that existing divisions are now so fixed that the only possible unity of the Church now is the inner unity of Christian feeling, &c., &c. Rome will never recognize the Anglican Church, except on terms of absolute submission. All depends on the political calculations of the court of Rome rather than on any force of truth or of Christian feeling: and the same may be said of the Greek Church too." Mde. Potemkin told him that I did not seek to effect any change, but, being convinced that the faith is one, and that my Church recognizes theirs, and that so we must be really agreed in all essentials, I sought communion without either changing my own or seeking to change their Church in other secondary things: and she added, "On conçoit facilement que les choses devraient être ainsi, et qu'elles en etaient ainsi au commencement." The Prince said, "No doubt it must be difficult to renounce the Church in which one has been baptized and bred up," &c., &c. Also he told the following story, from what source I know not.

When Napoleon had the Pope with him, the Pope besought him to give up the Gallican Liberties. Napoleon referred him to the bishops. The Pope said it was of no use to talk to them, and produced an old discoloured paper on which was a retraction of those same liberties obtained from Louis XIV. on his death-bed. Napoleon asked him why nothing had ever been

heard of this, nor any use made of it? The Pope answered that it would not have been prudent in him to attack the Gallican Church; that might have caused a schism; but that the paper had been signed and given for the quieting of the king's conscience, and if he, Napoleon, would sign such another, he would keep that likewise, and make no untimely or inconvenient use of it. Napoleon replied, "C'est une bêtise."[2] The Prince supposed that all the Gallican Liberties are now also in full force, and that the king nominates simply the bishops, the Pope only confirming them.

We talked about the definition of the visible Church, and of the word Catholic, which is in a manner sacramental; of the influence of De Maistre's writings, and of his attempt to give the Eastern Orthodox Church a new nickname, calling it "l'Eglise Photienne," or "la secte Photienne." The Prince said, "Ah! yes, he was a very bigoted Papist."

[2] [This story seems to have risen out of an inaccurate version of what is told us by Comte de Maistre. "Louis XIV. écrivit au Pape, Innocent XII., le 14 Septembre, 1693 . . . 'J'ai donné les ordres nécessaires afin que les affaires contenues dans mon édit du 2 Mars, 1682, à quoi les conjectures d'alors m'avaient obligé, *n'eussent point de suite.*' . . . La pièce demeura cachée pendant plusieurs années. Elle ne fut publique en Italie qu'en l'an 1732, et ne fut connue, ou plutôt aperçue en France que . . . seulement en 1712. . . . Louis XIV. avait bien accordé quelque chose à sa conscience et aux prières d'un Pape mourant (Alexandre VIII.)." Œuvres, t. 4, pp. 162—163.]

They were both much in favour of frequent communion. They had both spoken of Mr. Law, the English chaplain, having no Mass or Liturgy, no Consecration. Mde. Potemkin said, "But you cannot think of such a union as should oblige our clergy to give the sacraments to all the English here who might choose to ask for them, when in general they are so ignorant and heterodox?" "By no means," I replied; "I know well that my countrymen have been thoroughly Protestantized." A very frequent question, and one they now asked me, is, whether we ask our priests and bishops for their blessing, and in what form they give it. Prince Galitsin shook hands with me, and hoped God would give me success in what I desired.

As we were coming away, M. Riumine said, "These two persons, Mde. Potemkin and Prince Galitsin are both very devout, and are always ready to do good, and to represent any case of distress, &c., to the Emperor or Empress, whose chief confidants they appear to be. The princess was born a Galitsin; a nephew whom she has adopted lives within her house with his preceptor. M. Potemkin, is Marshal of the nobility of Petersburg. Their house is in the Millionnaia.

M. Riumine told me that Mde. de P. once, when she was a girl, was told by a "Catholic" priest, the Catholic Church is the only way of salvation,

and that to resist the desire she might feel to belong to it might be to sin against the Holy Ghost. The thought and the desire to become a Catholic thrilled through her, and she felt this unsettling desire for some time. She was referred to some of the Greek clergy for an answer, and they rather increased than diminished her anxiety by bidding her consider the distress or displeasure of her parents and friends, the impropriety of deserting her own religion, &c. She was ultimately brought out of this state by a "Ministre Methodiste," who, on her telling him of her misgivings, exclaimed, "Quel manque de foi!" and explained to her the Catechism of Spiritual religion, of the natural state of the soul, of justification by free grace, of the need of a Saviour, of assurance in union of the soul with Him, &c., &c. Which, she said, was all quite new, and like a ray of light. So she remained three or four years in Paris, full of joy, so that they told her that she looked as if she had found the Christ, or knew that she was saved. She said she liked much some English books, such as Doddridge and Baxter; but her confessor would not let her read them, or correspond with that "Methodiste." She still keeps his letters, but confesses there is a good deal of pride in those writers, "and even," she said, "of heresy, in saying that those who are once in a state of grace can never fall away." But the English books have a most attractive fervour.

CHAPTER LI.

Third Discussion with the Archpriest.

OCTOBER 17th [o.s.].—With the Archpriest from 10.30 a.m. to 4 p.m. He has now read Bertram's book on the Eucharist, but cannot at all accept it, though there are some good things in it. "Spiritualiter" might be said, but "spirituale corpus" by no means, because then our Lord would have two bodies. He interpreted away both the passages from St. Augustine and St. Chrysostom, and all the rest I read from Bishop Cosin. He declaimed against scholastic subtleties, but thus far, (i.e. in the use of substance and accidents), he followed Rome, as a matter of common sense, though he could not follow her entirely and admit the destruction[1] of the natural substance and the adduction of Christ's Body.

While admitting, after some discussion, the distinction between essentials and non-essentials, he by no means admitted that it was a duty to communicate with all Churches which agree in essentials. The discussion

[1] [*Vide* p. 281, note.]

ran up into the question, whether, in consequence of the Western Church having fallen away into heresy, the Eastern is now the whole Catholic or Ecumenical Church. I said, "If you would not pretend to be the whole Church, and claim the unreserved obedience due only to the whole Church, while with your own lips you refute your own assumption, and proclaim your Church to be only the Eastern, and call the Western half by the name 'Catholic,' if you would not do this, nor confound non-essentials with essentials, you might and would obtain great influence with us."

After expostulating against their suicidal inconsistency, I spoke of the Papists, and continued, "As for charity and zeal, only compare the heroic or angelic charity and zeal with which *their* missionaries labour to support and extend what may well seem, in default of any other claim, to be the only *clear* definition of visible Catholic unity, with the miserable inaction both of the Greek and of the English Churches. I know that the Roman unity is a pseudo-Catholicism; but all those beautiful and high and holy feelings which belong to the true unity are now called out in its behalf, because the true Catholicism is nowhere else known or seen." He said, "It ought to be sufficiently known, for the claim of the Eastern Church to be the whole Catholic Church, and her call upon all other Churches and sects

to come to her as such, has been repeatedly published by her writers."

"But," I said, "you do nothing worthy of that claim. Would a colony of 3000 English heretics have remained one, two, or three hundred years in France or in Italy, in Paris or in Rome, as they have here, without any one of them (so far as I know) having ever been so much as spoken to with a view to his conversion? Pretty work the Jesuits would make among your exclusively Capholic-Orthodox Oriental Churches, if only they were let loose upon you, unhindered by the secular power! Do you think they would not convert any of your women and youths; and grown men, and priests and monks too, if there were perfect liberty, such as now exists in England and in America?" He replied: "Their zeal is *bad*; such zeal is always a sign of error. Also our Russian history shows that we can both maintain ourselves and convert others. For we have in fact converted many peoples, and we have withstood Rome in a terrible and often bloody conflict during so many centuries."

Other subjects followed. In the course of this long conversation, the Archpriest said: "It must be confessed that according to what I have heard from you and have seen in your Dissertation, there is but a very slight difference between the Anglican and the Eastern Churches; and it is a great pity that you have adopted

those Lutheran errors of rejecting the Invocation of the Saints and the Veneration of the Images and of Relics. The Communion of Saints is an article of the Creed, and you could have no good reason for rejecting the festivals of the Saints." "Which" I said, "we have *not* done; nor do we deny their intercession." "How then do you celebrate their festivals, if you do not invoke them?" He seemed to think and to assert that both the Invocation of the Saints and the Use and Veneration of Images had been in the Church from the beginning, and the invocations in the offices of the Church, observing that they are contained in the Liturgy of St. James. Of the images he said: "Your Church had no right to suppress what the whole Church had received. The Pope in accepting the Second Nicene Council represented the whole West; and if any bishops at that time did not accept it, they were in error, like the Arians, and you, in pleading their rebellious or heretical refractoriness, do so only to defend your own present prejudice which, like the other about the Invocation of the Saints, you have borrowed from the Lutherans."

CHAPTER LII.

Discussion continued.

I SAID, "If we are in error, at least the one true Church would send missionaries to convert us from our heresies, and to teach us all that is good." He objected, "But the English Government would not allow that." I answered, "We have no Government which can prevent it; we govern ourselves; nay, the tail governs the head. And, as the sovereign people is divided on the subject of religion, we have established an unlimited freedom of opinion and of worship." "What?" he said, "may a man profess atheism?" "Yes," I replied, "and even proclaim it publicly." He seemed much astonished. "But," he resumed, "we could do no good; we should only produce endless and useless logomachies." "By no means," I said; "all parties in England are now leagued against us; you might easily correct our errors by reasonable argument and proof, and we might perhaps bring you to a truer notion both of the unity of the Visible Church and of

the truth on some secondary points." "You are always talking," he answered, "of reasonable proof, but there can be no union, unless your Church were to conform in all things to ours, which alone is the Catholic Church." I replied, "The promise of God is not to any part of the Church, as such, but to the whole." "And we are the whole," he said. However, he smiled, and seemed much surprised at my challenging them to send a mission to convert us.

He said, "Though we are unbending concerning the Eastern Church, which we believe to be altogether right, while all others have fallen away, still we are not unreasonable towards those other erring Churches and Societies, but think that, wherever there is true baptism in the name of the Trinity, there may by God's grace be good Christians, though the Society itself may be heretical. Some societies may be more heretical, some less. Rome and the Latin Church has all (Christianity), only deformed by one or two heresies. The Lutherans have less: they have not the Sacrament of the Holy Chrism; but still they have Baptism, and some notion of the Sacraments. The Calvinists have still less. Christ is the centre of all; for belief in Him and love of Him is all in all by which the soul regenerated in baptism grows in life, and attains a more and more perfect state, or repairs by penitence what it may have lost by sin. So if there are, as there have been

many, who, under difficulty and disadvantage, having been regenerated in baptism, have cultivated this inner life, not dwelling wilfully or maliciously on the errors of their society, nor making them their own, such men are Christians indeed, and we may cultivate a fraternal charity with them in consciousness of our inner invisible unity; though we must each remain outwardly separated; we, because we cannot give up even the non-essential perfections of the true Visible Church, they because, from whatever cause, they cannot see the necessity of submitting to and being outwardly reconciled to the true, that is to the Eastern Church."

I said, "With a certain economy, and in a transcendental sense, such a view of the Church may be true enough; but it is a dangerous doctrine to popularize, as it may lead those who are in error to underrate the importance of Orthodoxy and of conformity to the whole will of God, and to encourage liberalism and indifference to religious truth, under the name of Charity, within the Church herself." "How so?" he asked. "When it is evident that Churches and societies excommunicated by the Orthodox Church have erred in such various degrees, and that so many men have attained in them so high a degree of divine grace, when the grace of the Holy Spirit has so shone in their lives and deeds and writings; how can we do otherwise than acknow-

ledge them for Christians?[1] For my part I cannot think of such men as Thomas à Kempis among the Latins, or Arendt among the Lutherans, in whose writings I find the love of Christ and a glowing piety, as heretics to be consigned to perdition. I shrink from the very notion of a man in the Church, perhaps barely, coldly, intellectually orthodox, judging such Christians, whose regeneration and spiritual life is so evident."

I said, "Amabilis sane sententia, sed perniciosissima doctrina. It is only an overpowering sense of the falsity of your definition of the true Church that forces you to this. But there are not *in general*, that is, (if we set aside the Latins) very high, or striking, or numerous examples of sanctity in Churches really heretical."

He said, "The fact is that some err more, some less, and the grace of God seems to work in all according to that truth which they have retained, and according to the dispositions of each individual to seek and love God. It seems to me like a great sphere revolving round the sun. All the different Churches and sects are attracted to the same centre and revolve round the same centre, but at different distances, that Church which is simply True, Orthodox, and Capholic, that is, the Eastern, being the nearest, and being joined to it by a more close and legitimate connexion: but of the rest

[1] [The Archpriest must be understood to be maintaining what Catholics hold about "invincible ignorance."]

some are farther off, some nearer, without there being any distinct separation or difference in kind. And since it is not that formal Orthodoxy of dogmatic opinion or of rite distinguishing the Orthodox Church from all others, but that principle of faith and love, that attraction to its centre, common to it with all the rest, which constitutes essential Christianity, hence, though it can never fraternize outwardly with any of them, yet inwardly there is no definite line of demarcation, but some who are without the pale may be better Christians than many of those who are within ; the only difference being that they attain eminent sanctity with a certain herculean labour, and in spite of great obstacles, while in the true Church they have great facilities."

I said, "That this principle could scarcely stop where he seemed to make it stop ; but it must go on to the extreme boundaries of a merely nominal Christianity, and thence on to Judaism, and to all other religions or even states without known religion, among the heathen." He said, "I resume the distinction of Baptism."

CHAPTER LIII.

Conversations with diverse Priests and Laymen.

OCT. 18 [o.s.].—Saw the Protopope Sidonsky, who said that he quite agreed with me that Churches ought to require from one another, in order to intercommunion, nothing beyond agreement in essentials, and then should correct faults in each other, e.g. by conferences, Synods, &c. He asked with some curiosity, why I made such a point of visible unity, seeing that the invisible ideal unity is intelligible to the educated, while in all confessions the masses believe without doubt. I said, "Yes, but truth is of the utmost moment." He said, "I do not see any great scandal or harm in the existing divisions, and unity depends now more on political considerations and on civil government than on anything else."

Oct. 19 [o.s.].—Saw the Protopope Pafsky. He said, "Koutnevich is pleased with his conversations with you. He does not see any difference worth mentioning between the doctrine of your Dissertation and

that of our own Church. But I should like to know how far the English agree with you, and you with the doctrines of your Church." I replied, "I believe I do; but, as to popular opinion, that is quite another thing; that has been completely Protestantized." He would hardly allow that it is their doctrine, esoteric or exoteric, that the Latin Church is strictly heretical, nor, as it seemed, would Sidonsky. He also said, "We make no kind of distinction between the Raskolniks at home and members of a foreign Church. We require both the one and the other to be reconciled as proselytes, and conform to our doctrines and customs in *all* things."

Oct. 20 [o.s.].—Another visit to M. Sidonsky. I said, "Practically you *must* distinguish between essentials and non-essentials; you have in course of time changed what is of primitive usage yourselves." He answered, "I admit the distinction, but we at present have no notion of making it."

Took tea with Mr. and Mrs. Birch, and met there one or two young Russians. One of these said, "We call our Church distinctively Orthodox-Capholic; and we call the Latins Catholiques or Catholics." He first denied, and then acknowledged that according to his Church all the Latins are heretics on the point of the *Procession*. "But," he said, "practically we think that you may be a good Christian in the one Church as well as in the other. Our clergy talk still more liberally

than they think, for fear of appearing narrow minded."

Oct. 22 [o.s.].—Festival of the *Icon* of our Lady of Kazan, for the deliverance of Muscovy from the Poles in 1613, when the Romanoff family was called to the throne. I dined that day with a family named Kalagrieff. Mr. K. said, "So they are going to make a great and happy change in England." I answered, "I hope so; we greatly need a change—a change from popular prejudices and abuses, a change of penitence and true reformation; but the Church herself will not change." Mr. K. said, "O then you will continue to reject the Saints and the Holy Virgin; by what name is your Church called? For the English all call themselves Protestant, Reformed, and what not! and they *are* Protestants."

A Greek general, Gorgolie, said, "If you are Catholique, you are not orthodox; we distinguish between the Capholic-orthodox and the Catholic Church, which is heretical." Mr. Kalagrieff said to me afterwards, smiling, "The General would not be persuaded that Capholic and Catholic are the same thing."

Oct. 23 [o.s.].—Again with M. Sidonsky. He spoke to me of M. Fortunatoff, a young priest, with whom he had arranged that I should live on the Viborski side of the Neva in the outskirts of the city. He is attached to a hospital of Marines. He has Vespers, Matins, and Liturgy on Sundays only. (The priests are not obliged

to say office in private.) He has a wooden cottage of one story. The church, which is a separate building, is within the gates of the hospital, but is frequented by the people who live near, as a parish church. On certain days he gives lessons, for two hours at a time, in sacred history, the Catechism, and Latin grammar.

Also I saw M. Raichofsky; he lectures in the University on dogmatic theology,—as the Emperor's confessor, M. Bajenoff, on morals. I had called on him about a week before this, and had asked him what difference he found between my Introduction to the XXXIX. Articles and the Russian doctrine; "Minimam certe et levissimam," but he wished to see how I would treat the remaining Articles. He said that with them those who communicated often need not be required to fast every time for a week before. Their Church bids all to communicate four times a year, excommunicating those who do not communicate once. He seemed to allow that attendances at the Church services three times a day for a week previously, and confession each time, would be necessary for such as communicated oftener than once. But he shook his head and said, "We have none such." However, in course of conversation to-day he said, that among their penitents were some who may well be called saints. N.B. A deacon is always to be found where there are two or three priests, but by no means in all parish churches.

CHAPTER LIV.

Interview with Count Pratasoff.

OCT. 25 [o.s.].—Saw Count Pratasoff. He spoke of liberalism as existing in some priests of Petersburg. One had written a book containing materialistic principles, and the old Metropolitan Seraphim has more than once uttered a groan of indignation at having such a priest in his diocese.

He asked, "Why do you make such a point of living with a Priest?" I explained (that is, to learn the language). He answered, "Mais ce sera une rude manière d'apprendre!"

We talked again about the definition of the Church, and the inconsistency of the Russian view. "So that you," he said, "can read and appreciate Thomas à Kempis and Alfonso de Liguori without any inconsistency." "Yes," I said; but he seemed to be staggered at the idea of one visible Catholic Church being made up of three communions, differing in doctrine and rites, and two of them at least condemning and anathematizing the others.

In proof that they do still make conversions, he showed me from his printed reports for 1837, 1838, and 1839, that they convert yearly about 10,000 Raskolniks, and reconcile as many more to the separate rite of the United Staroviertsi. And before the return of the Uniats in 1839 they recovered from 1000 to 2000 proselytes from the Latins, some hundreds of Mahometans, about 100 Jews, I think, and 100 or 200 Protestants, of whom seventy or eighty in Petersburg. In all, since 1827 above 180,000, and in the last four years above 85,000, without mentioning the two millions or nearly of Uniats who were reconciled all at once in 1839.[1]

"Some of the Uniat dioceses," he said, "had been separated only eighty or ninety years, and there had been all along a Grecizing party in them, as there may be a Catholicizing party among you. And granting the bishops had sworn obedience to the Pope, that is the case everywhere; and in a matter of *belief* an oath is not to be urged as in a matter of mere civil obedience; but, the belief on which the oath rested changing, the oath itself is made void. And so now they have sworn another similar oath of obedience to the Synod, and they preach most warmly against the Pope." He said, "I have heard of my blaming a lady here for reading heretical books: that pleased me. It would be a great thing, if

[1] [Vid. however Fr. Theiner's works, referred to above, pp. 63, 64 note, illustrative of the Russian method of conversion.]

your chaplains here could be got to enter into such views as yours, and to influence their people in the same direction."

He spoke of the book Kamen Vieri, written by Stephen Yavorsky against the Protestants, and said that it had cost that bishop (Theophylact Lopatinsky), who published it after the death of Yavorsky, his life. But it is very popular with the Raskolniks. That definition of the Church which I objected to would be found in it. But he admitted it was too strong. On the Sunday of Orthodoxy, the first Sunday in Lent, the bishop in each episcopal city, here at Petersburg, often five bishops together, in the Kazan Sobor, after the deacon has read out a long confession of faith, anathematize all heresies—some fifteen or twenty in succession, and all the clergy sing to each heresy in chorus together, "Anathema, anathema, anathema." "A ceremony," he said, "which is good enough, but which greatly scandalizes all our liberal-minded and civilized Protestantizing people, both clergy and laity." He said laughing, "I will take you to hear Sidonsky sing those anathemas." He said, "As soon as the Metropolitan of Moscow comes I will let him have the Russian translation of your letter to me, and will go with you to him myself. And, since your ambassador wrote of you in his note as if you wished to change your religion and become a member of the Greek

Church, I will talk to him when he comes, and also to Lady Clanricarde, who has plenty of intelligence."

Oct. 26, M. Mouravieff said: "Mde. Potemkin is the very best acquaintance you could have; you cannot go too much there." He did not at all like the idea of my living with a priest, especially with one found for me by S. He said, "A. and B. are absolute heretics." And after cautioning me against them, he said: "As for your new lodging, the fleas and bugs, and the other inconveniences and annoyances will soon drive you out: you may even, in that suburb out of the town, be in some danger; you will not be able to go out at all in the evening. You may have your cloak stolen, or be robbed, &c., &c. Also the thing itself may cause scandal. They will say, 'Who is this English deacon, living with the priest of the Hospital? and what is his business?' The civil officer (of the police) will go to Pratasoff to know what it means: and the people here themselves may be scandalized. He will have no time to give you, unless he neglects his duties. But you can make the experiment, if you please: you will not stay there long, I am sure."

CHAPTER LV.

The Archpriest's final judgment on the Anglican view of the Eucharist.

THE same day I went to the Archpriest with the second volume of Dr. Routh's "Opuscula," with the passages in Theodoret as asserting that in the Eucharist the natural substances remain: but he set them all aside at once; "If there were a thousand, our Lord's words availed to overthrow them. It would need time and books to bring together the innumerable passages to the contrary. It is an essential article of the faith; your doctrine is a terrible heresy." He especially attacked the expression "a spiritual body." He admitted "spiritualiter mutari." He attacked the last sentence quoted by Dr. Routh, "non idem esse corpus," "not the same body;" and said that it was plainly and atrociously heretical. When I pressed him with the difficulties that he was creating for himself, he did not reply, and seemed embarrassed, but said, "Certainly we differ not at all from Rome in believing that after consecration there is no more bread, but the

natural body of Christ under the bare accidents or appearance of bread; but we differ from Rome in not allowing the abolition[1] of the natural substance of bread, for we say the world is full of natural changes of one thing into another, and we say that the change in the Eucharist is analogous to these. But in this case by a special miraculous economy, the accidents remain, that is, the substance is changed without the accidents."

About the changes made and not made in the recent publications of the Synod, he said: "You must ask the Metropolitan of Moscow; he knows all about it." He did not seem to deny that there were many things in the "Orthodox Confession" (of Mogila) which savour of Latinism, with which the whole church of Little Russia was at that time deeply infected, "and on that ground," he said, "it was suspected by us." He said also: "We have adopted the word Transubstantiation" from the Latins, because, meaning the same thing, it expresses it more clearly. And he asked: "How do you think it possible that two such great Churches as the Eastern and the Roman should have erred in this

[1] [This does not enter into the definition of the Catholic doctrine. Vid. Viva de Eucharist. who observes "conversionem non esse mutationem," and "substantiam panis in rigore non annihilari, quia illa desitio panis non tendit in nihil, sed in corpus Christi." Diss. v.]

matter?" And he insisted on certain miraculous appearances, as of natural flesh and blood, seen by doubting priests, &c., "which showed," he said, that it is Christ's natural body, and not "a spiritual body."

CHAPTER LVI.

Conversations with the Rector of the Academy, M. Voitsechovich and Prince Meshchersky.

THE same day I visited the Archimandrite Athanasius, the Rector of the Academy. He had seen my "Introduction" to the XXXIX. Articles, and wished to see the Articles themselves. I observed that the Articles are by no means a general confession of faith; they must be considered with reference to the particular controversies to which they refer. He pointed to the "Filioque," and after hearing me upon it, merely said, "Profundissima et difficillima quæstio." He desired me to come often and see him.

Also, the same day I visited M. Voitsechovich, Director of the Chancery of the Ober-Prokuror; he said, "There is something marvellous in the diffused sense or instinct of a people." He had just before been asking about the state of religious parties in England, and had said: "If the feeling of the people becomes favourable to the Catholic party in your Church, your success will be certain. You should go to Moscow,

and to Kieff, to see the piety of the Russian people." He knows some places where the whole population communicate four times in the year, as the Church recommends, and there are more men than women in the churches. "That," he said, "is the secret of O'Connell's power in Ireland, that he has the people with him." He was pleased to hear of our Library of Translations from the Fathers, and of the Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology. They have one bishop, Aaron, formerly of Archangel, but now living in a monastery at Moscow, who translates from the English into Russ.

At 7 p.m. I went to the Vsenoshni by invitation, the house-church of the Potemkins, and afterwards (8.30) conversed with Prince Meshchersky, who once was Ober-Prokuror. He said that till lately the Russians were very ill off, for they were all bred up by foreign Protestant preceptors and governesses. He himself till the age of thirty-five, had been a freethinker, and he was regularly trained to be so by his Protestant tutor. As the clergy do not mix with society, young people pick up just those notions of religion which float in worldly fashionable society, and those are either Protestant or "Catholic." Mde. P. said that when she was a child she was not taught any catechism. She could never bring herself to say, like her friends the "Methodists," that she was actually saved. Now she is fond of reading St. John Climaeus, and she sees that there is a

great difference between the irreverent familiarity of the Methodists with Christ, and the reverential depth of the Scripture and of the old Fathers. As we were talking, she said, smiling: "You tell me just what our bishops and archimandrites tell me."

Her young nephew, Boris Galitzin, came in to bid his aunt good-night and to receive her blessing; he kissed her hand, and she kissed his forehead, and signed over him the sign of the cross.

CHAPTER LVII.

Mr. Palmer moves to the Priest Fortunatoff's.

MONDAY, Oct. 28 [o.s.].—In the afternoon I removed to the house of a young priest, Fortunatoff, No. 10 in the suburbs in the Offitserskaia, on the Viborg side, across the Neva. I found him through Count P., and was to live with him on pension. The house is some little distance from the Marine Hospital, and its Church of the Ascension, founded 1769—1772. The houses in that street, or rather road, are not contiguous to one another. They are mostly of one story, as mine is, and wooden, built of trunks of trees, each standing in its own yard. The road is flanked more by the wooden palings of the yards belonging to the houses than by the houses themselves. It has a planked way like a *trottoir* for foot passengers; one enters the yard, and turning to the left goes up some wooden steps to an outer platform, and from it into the house. The dwelling-rooms, thus raised some feet above the road with a cellar under them, and a small kitchen

near the entrance, are four; first a very small one, now mine; then two others, also very small and parallel with it, the one next to mine is the priest's, his wife's and a child's three years old: the other an old woman's, the nurse to a younger child. There is also in the house a Finnish girl, in height and make like an Esquimaux, without shoes or stockings, who is servant of all work; and every morning there comes a rough and stupid marine, a Lutheran Finn, who brings water, cuts the birch wood, and lights the stoves. Lastly, there is a fair-sized room with two windows, which serves for meals and to receive company. The *Icon* which is always in one of the corners of each room, is the head of St. John the Baptist. This room, which has a close, frowzy smell, has a piano in it. And there are some plants, ivy especially, in the windows. The furniture is scanty and poor in the extreme. From the windows we see the empty road, with rare passengers, or carts upon it, and, at some distance opposite, the Medical Academy.

My room is about ten feet square. A long chest, between two and three feet high, lengthened out by a chair, is the bedstead; on this is a straw mattress; one very narrow sheet, and a light counterpane; my carpet bag serves for a pillow; and the scarceness of bedclothes is remedied by my wadded cloak. The window is very small, double of course, incapable of opening in winter; ventilation by opening the door, and by the stove,

which is heated every other day, and makes the room at first much too hot; fumes often from the charcoal causing headache, in consequence of the wood not being equally burned before the tube was closed.

The first night I slept not a wink; when I confessed this to the priest, he said, "I guess what it is;" and, taking a lighted tallow candle, he examined the crevices and corners of the room, and found long clusters of the vermin wedged in and hanging together like bees in a hive. They frizzled and fell into the candle, and almost put it out. This clearance is no doubt much, but still my nights are bad enough. There is a shallow round brass pan set on a chair for washing; a great bottle of water, a drinking-glass, a candlestick, and a small deal table at the window; a second chair, and an old cupboard complete the furniture. Cleaning of shoes or washing of linen there is here none; but as I went on Saturdays to the English lodging-house, and stayed there over Sunday, I used to take my linen there, and get my shoes cleaned, if that was needed.

In the morning, when it is not a fast, the Finnish girl used to bring me a tumbler of tea with sugar—or two, if I called for a second—and a piece of bread; on festivals, sweetbread, and there was always raw smoked or salted fish, and bread and Dutch cheese—the latter here a luxury, to be had if called for. We dined all together, the priest, his wife, and often a younger sister

of hers, and myself, at four o'clock. After dinner they take a cup of coffee, and sleep for an hour or two, being very early risers, and about 8 p.m. we again have a glass, never a cup, of tea. At dinner the priest always helped me and himself before his wife and her sister; and when I said that our custom was different, he replied, "Then your custom is wrong, and contrary to the Bible; for the man was made first, and then the woman."

The chief articles of food at table were these: soup, with which we always began, as in France; black rye bread, white bread also; red cabbage, slightly salted, cut into shreds; sweetmeats, made of a coarse berry of a dull red colour, and of other berries, which they eat with meat; meat and game, especially ptarmigans, and the largest kind of grouse, the capercailzie, which is very abundant; cakes of millet; a jelly made of potato flour and syrup of cranberries, eaten with sugar and milk. The only vegetable, besides the red cabbage and potatoes, was small salted cucumbers. On Wednesdays and Fridays and other fast days there was neither flesh meat, nor milk, butter, cheese, or eggs; but fish-soup and fish, caviare, almond milk, linseed or nut oil, mushrooms, and several kinds of the edible toadstools. Thin slices of lemon were often put into the tea instead of milk on fast days. To drink, there was the water of the Neva, not always over clear, and quass, and occa-

sionally on any special day, a bottle of port wine or of porter. *Pirogi*, a sort of sandwich—meat, fish, or sweetmeat between two sides of baked pastry—and an open tartlet, formed a second course. A favourite and most agreeable drink was infusion of cranberries sweetened, which is also thought to be a specific in cases of internal fever.

CHAPTER LVIII.

Prince Michael, Madame Potemkin's Cousin.

OCT. 30 [o.s.].—I dined by invitation of Madame de Potemkin in the Millionnaia. The last time I saw her she had been speaking to me of Prince Michael, a cousin of hers, a colonel in the Imperial Guard, telling him how she had heard of me from the Emperor. She wished me to meet him, and in consequence invited me for this day. I went, and met a large party. Prince Michael sat next to me, and, without addressing himself to me, began to speak of the Anglican Church as a mere Protestant sect with some asperity and exaggeration. Then at length he turned to me, and I, after hearing him, gave him my view of the case. After hearing enough to satisfy him I was in earnest, he told me that on Thursday in Holy Week last spring, when he had been confessing and preparing for communion, he received a letter from his eldest daughter, who has been for several years with her mother and two younger sisters near Geneva and in France, announcing that they

had been converted from the superstition of the Russian Church to the Anglican religion. "At Rome," he said, "I know there is pomp and artifice, and learning and zeal, and if I had received such a letter from Rome, I should not have taken it so much to heart; but to have them turn Protestants made me very unhappy." He said also he should be quite ready to acknowledge the Pope himself, if it could be proved that St. Peter was ever at Rome. (He said on another occasion, "If a union were agreed upon by the Emperor, I would be myself the first man to acknowledge the Pope's supremacy.") I said, "The ladies may have been converted at Geneva to Calvinistic Methodism, but they are not converted to the Anglican Church; that is nonsense. There may be English, and an English clergyman at Geneva, but no Church of England at Geneva, nor any bishop having jurisdiction. And even in England itself no priest, without his Bishop, has authority to baptize or receive proselytes otherwise than according to the law of his Church. But there is no public law of our Church, certainly, authorizing the reception of proselytes from the Orthodox Eastern Church; else, it would be absurd for me to come professing agreement with you in faith and wishing to be admitted to communion. But I will pledge myself to prove that the ladies have not in any valid or canonical way been admitted as members of the Anglican Church, and, if I fail, I am ready to

be converted myself to that Russian Church which they have renounced and left." The Prince said he would read to me passages of the letters from Geneva: that I had given him a ray of hope, and that my own credit was quite as much implicated in the matter as his interest and feelings.

As it was Wednesday, the dinner was *maigre*, but there were other dishes on the table, and Mde. Potemkin offering me the choice, said, "We have here at table a Catholic, and a bigoted one," meaning a Frenchman. On this I remarked on the misuse of the word Catholic, to which she replied, "But what can I call them? If I had merely said a Frenchman, a Frenchman might be a Protestant." Just before dinner she had said that a sister of Princess Kurakin had become a Catholic, and when I objected to the word, she had seemed to admit that it was better not so to use it, and she said she would use "Catholic" of the Russian and Eastern Church, when she talked to Mde de Barante, the French Ambassadress.

CHAPTER LIX.

Snow and Ice.

NOVEMBER 3 [o. s.].—I went out thinking to take a droshky and cross the Voskresensky bridge; snow was falling fast and filling the air; the men, when I hailed them, only shook their heads and said "Let idyot (the ice is coming down)." When I came to the bank, the bridge was gone, and the great barges which had composed it lay in a string along the bank. All the river was covered with floes of ice, snowed over, drifting down rapidly, and the police hindered boats putting off. From the opposite side, here and there boats full of people attempted the passage and were seen struggling with iron pointed and hooked poles to force their way across towards us. The other bridges, lower down, had all disappeared too. Later, however, after the Liturgy (after mass) I got across, icicles hanging in great abundance from the vessels along the bank, and from the oars and rowlocks of our own boat. In the afternoon of the same day the river was covered

all over in three places, and the ice stood. I paid a long visit to Prince Michael and dined with him. I stayed the night at the English Lodging-House, and got back to the Viborg side next day in a boat.

Nov. 6 [o. s.].—Yesterday morning M. Fortunatoff says people had already begun to walk across the Neva, and to-day there are paths of planks laid down on the ice across poles. This morning I went out to take a look at the river, and did not perceive it to be specially cold, still I noticed that my breath froze upon the collar of my coat, and that a priest's long beard was incrusted with ice. The fine broad river, which two or three days before had flowed freely, had disappeared, and in its place was a vast wilderness of snow. The surface of the ground was not to be seen again for six months, and noiseless, rapidly gliding sledges, with little jingling bells about the head-gear of the horses, were a pleasing substitute, in compensation of the cold, for the jolting uncomfortable motion of the droshkies.

CHAPTER LX.

History and Training of a Secular Priest.

MY host is by birth from the diocese of Vladimir; his father was a parish priest; and, having no clock, went by the sun in celebrating service in the church. He was, from eight years old to fourteen in one of the district clerical schools, of which there are in that diocese six. Then he was, six years more, in the diocesan seminary. The seminaries of Vladimir and of Scondal are the largest in all Russia, containing as many as 1000 students each. When he was there only 600 out of the 1000 were lodged and boarded within the walls. He had an allowance from the clerical education fund, as being the son of a priest and poor, of fifty roubles at first, out of which he had also to pay for his lodgings and his clothes. At that time he was dressed just as the son of a peasant, and wore wrappers round his legs, instead of stockings. He said a lad could live on fifty roubles a year, but in the very poorest way. Both at the Seminary and afterwards at the Spiritual Academy

at Petersburg, he got a little additional money by being one of the best singers, and going out occasionally with his fellows to sing in private houses and in domestic churches.

Having made good progress at the Seminary, he obtained one of those small exhibitions which are given to a certain number of the students to enable them to complete their course in one of the four academies. To Petersburg then he passed when twenty, the usual age, and went through the four years' course, passed his examination, not with any special distinction, but with credit, married, and was ordained, about three years ago, without any private resources. Nor did he get anything with his wife, whose mother, younger sister, and brother (a student) live all together in a single room not far off. When he was drafted from the seminary to the academy he had an allowance of seventy-five, and later of eighty-nine roubles a year (225 francs or 9*l.*)[1] which last is the highest allowance, and then he lived well. The deacon attached to the church of the Hospital has not had a learned education, and, like many others, will never rise above his present Order.

F. is a thorough Russian, quite ignorant of everything foreign, good-natured, open, talkative, simple-minded; by no means wanting in intelligence, quite

[1] [Ninety roubles calculated at par and average rates of exchange are respectively 14*l.* 5*s.* and 12*l.* Vid. Murray, p. 62.]

free from liberalism and from any sort of private views. He plays on the piano; speaks Latin, and with a little more practice, will soon speak it fluently, and is beginning to learn German.

CHAPTER LXI.

Course of Studies in the Spiritual Academy.

THE division in time at the Academy, and the seasons of vacation, are much the same as in Western seminaries.

The professors generally read their lectures; hitherto in Latin; but now they are beginning to use Russ. Most of the progress, however, that is made, is made by private work. All know Latin: few, comparatively, Greek. Hebrew, German, French, and English are voluntary. Fortunatoff does not think there is one who could translate accurately an English book. Most of the students become secular clergy, either professors or parish priests, only two or three at every biennial or greater examination become monks. When Fortunatoff went out, there were ten places vacant and forty students capable of filling them, which accounts for his not being a professor.

Sidonsky was not a Professor, but a Baccalaureus of Philosophy at the academy, and read lectures, which

he published. In his book he carried his speculations too far, and displeased the higher clergy, especially the monks, but he has great talents, and he understands all the modern German and French philosophers better than any other man in Russia. He was displaced, and another appointed. The present Professor, Karp (a layman), is more guarded. M. Fortunatoff thinks that not all the modern philosophy is bad : Schelling, for instance, is admirable, and above Plato and Aristotle. He does not know much about Aristotle's ethics or politics ; but he remarked that Aristotle went only on experience, while Plato was imaginative, and Socrates religious. He thinks that all the modern geologists overturn religion, especially by interpreting the six days of Creation to be six periods.

Every two years there is a move, the whole Upper section passing their final examination at once, whereupon what had been the Lower becomes the Upper, and a new Lower is formed by calling fresh recruits from the diocesan seminaries in connexion with this academy. Those who have passed the final examination are classed under the titles of *Magistri* and *Candidati*, a classification borrowed from the Civil University. The Candidati can become Magistri afterwards, if they qualify themselves and pass a second examination. The number of Magistri varies from fourteen or fifteen to thirty. The rest are only Candidati. But

each class seems to be arranged in order of merit. Fortunatoff was the fourth of the Candidati when he went out. In the diocesan Seminaries and district spiritual schools the scholars are only partially provided for or assisted from public sources; but the students in the Academies are all wholly maintained by the Synod. And after the final examination all those who are classed as Masters and Candidati obtain a pension for life, the Masters of 350, the Candidates of 250 roubles a year.

One evening later there came to drink tea with us from the academy one of the best students who is to pass his final examination next June, and will probably be among the Magistri, that is, will take the highest honours. In giving me an account of the academy he said that there ought to be sixty students in each of its two sections, but in fact just now there are only forty-nine in the Upper section and fifty-seven in the Lower.

There are professors at the academy in Dogmatic Theology, Moral Theology, Polemics, Liturgical Science, Ecclesiastical History, Biblical Archæology, Homiletics, Hebrew, and Greek. These are in the Upper section; in the Lower there are lectures in Philosophy, Philology, Civil History, Mathematics, German, French, English (to only a few of the students), and Holy Scripture. Students are at liberty to choose between Mathematics

and Secular History, between German and French, though they may learn all, if they please.

The Curator of the academy is the Ober-Procuror, who is charged with the whole material administration, the course of study and the instruction being in the hands of the Synod.

Their food and accommodation are good. It is not uncommon for the students to damage their health by overwork. On Sundays and festivals they are allowed to go out after the Liturgy till nine or ten p.m. Thus they can visit their friends; but some of them find their way to the theatre.

CHAPTER LXII.

Visit to the Spiritual Academy.

ANOTHER evening (Dec. 11 o. s.) I went with F. to visit some of the students in the academy. The building and its court, though within the same precinct with the Lavra, is separated within, and one goes from the Lavra into the Court of the academy by a narrow archway, the door of which is closed and locked at a certain hour of the night. The building of the Academy is divided into two sides. One side is for the Rector and the *Baccalaurei* (or assistant-professors). The *professors* almost always live elsewhere, and come only to give their lectures. The baccalaurei are appointed from the best of the magistri, according as there are vacancies; the professors again appointed from the best baccalaurei of some standing, and from such as have worked hard. The professors are most of them married priests, or even laymen. None who are married can live within the academy itself. The church or chapel is over the entrance. The students

never go to the great church or Sobor in the Lavra except on the festival of the saint (St. Alexander Nefsky). They are divided into rooms, each room having two tables, and six students at each table. There are also two small bookcases, one for each table at the two ends of the room. In one of the bookcases I noticed Innocentius' *Church History*, Bingham's *Antiquitates Ecclesiasticæ*, Hengstenberg's Christology, Hebrew Bibles, &c. The students wear no academical or ecclesiastical dress either within doors or abroad. Their refectory is not lofty; it has in it two long tables. They sup at 8 p. m.; and no strangers are allowed to stay within the gates after they go to supper. In one room the students showed us their books, and asked several questions; as for instance: "What authority do you allow in England to the Septuagint, to the Vulgate, and to the Hebrew texts of the Scriptures respectively? What versions do you value next after those? Was there not one Taylor, Archbishop of London, who wrote a book altogether subversive of Christianity? Whose disciple was Strauss? In what books is the doctrine of the Anglican Church to be found?" They had just been set to write a dissertation on the Anglican Church, and so were curious to know whether upon the whole it were nearer to Lutheranism or to Popery. They supposed, they said, that it was nearer to Lutheranism.

Many of the best compositions of the students are published from time to time, after having been revised by the superiors. A number of such dissertations were given me at different times, on the following subjects :— On the relation of the Church to Jesus Christ, its Founder (20 pages); On guardian angels appointed over cities, kingdoms, provinces, monasteries, and churches (20 pages); On the XVIII. Articles of the Synod of Bethlehem of A. D. 1672 ; On the intermediate state of imperfect happiness and imperfect torment; and on the profitableness of prayers and oblations for the departed ; especially for those who have died with faith and repentance, but with great sins, and without having had time for full amendment of life (100 pages); On the Duchoborts (a sect very similar to the Quakers). Besides these compositions of the students, the superiors of the academy publish a monthly periodical entitled "Christian Reading," consisting partly of sermons and other documents ancient and modern, and partly of original dissertations. The spiritual censorship also of all publications bearing on religion or doctrine is chiefly in the hands of the superiors of the Spiritual Academy.

The Diocesan Seminary of the united dioceses of Novgorod and Petersburg is in a separate building at no great distance from the academy. It contains three hundred seminarists.

CHAPTER LXIII.

The Princess Sophia Galitsin.

NOVEMBER 8 [o s.].—This being the Festival of St. Michael and all Angels, and of all the Russian Orders of knighthood, and the name-day of the Emperor's brother, Fortunatoff sang the Matins at five a.m. and the Liturgy at ten. I went with him to the Liturgy, and stood in the sanctuary with the service-book. As the deacon was not there, I now saw how the priest celebrates alone, when he has to take the deacon's part. The duty of reader and clerk was performed by some marines from the Hospital in their ordinary dress.

Nov. 9. [o. s.].—Saw the Archpriest, who said, "The opinions printed in the Index of this book" (Dr. Routh's *Opuscula*) on the subject of Transubstantiation, "I can scarcely read for horror." However, at length he began to acknowledge that Mark of Ephesus, who had used the other terms, had refused *transubstantiation*, and that Theophanes Procopovich, in his Theology, shows his

dislike of it. He told me a story of a miracle of St. Metrophanes, how the saint appeared in a dream to a young man who was living a bad life, and thereby converted him.

The same day I dined with the Princess Sophia Galitsin and her brother-in-law. She lamented that they have so few opportunities of getting religious advice and instruction by conversing with their clergy, especially as they never mix with them in society. "No doubt," she said, "our custom of going to confession is very well; but then that is only once a year, and the intervals are long in which we are left quite to ourselves. Our upper classes are not very religious. The services of the church are extremely fatiguing, and we understand but little of them, especially of the Vespers and the Matins; and scarcely anybody (of the higher classes) ever goes to the Matins. They are very long and you must stand the whole time. We are more at home in the Liturgy, and can follow it better." I said, "If any one would only buy the church books, and follow the services in them, they would soon understand them better." She misunderstood me, and said: "It would never do to be seen with a book in one's hand in the church: that would seem to be an irreverence." "No," I said, "that is not what I meant: I meant that you should read the church books for a quarter of an hour or so every day at home, and then you would soon be

more *au fait* in the church." "That," she said, "is what some of the old people do; and so they are able to stand out all the services without finding them wearisome, which we cannot." She said: "The clergy have by no means all left off their bad low habit of drinking."

November 10 [o.s.].—Met again at the house of M. Riumine, the same Mdlle. N. who had attacked me so sharply once before. This time we were quite friends. She said she delighted in reading the works of St. Francis de Sales and Fénélon, and was unwilling to admit that her Church imputes to the Latin Church absolute heresy. She said, with prodigious emphasis, "Quant à Luther et Calvin, je les déteste." They praised much a Bishop named Tichon, who died at the end of last century. "His works," said M. Riumine, "are almost our only model of practical piety."

CHAPTER LXIV.

The two Archimandrites and a Priest of the Academy.

NOVEMBER 11th [o. s.].—Visited the Archimandrite Palladius in the Nefsky Laura; he is Vicar under the Metropolitan. Also the Rector Athanasius, who, when I stated my definition of the Church, including and acknowledging in their legitimate dioceses the continental Latins, the Easterns, and the Anglicans also, remarked, "That must imply a kind of indifference."

Presently there came in a priest of the Academy, not a monk, who had heard of me from his relative M. Malloff. He instructed the *fiancée* of the Grand Duke Alexander, the heir apparent, and received for that service a handsome sum of money and a gold cross. He is chaplain at Stuttgart, and spoke French fluently, and can read English. He seemed interested to hear that I had brought out some English books to present to the Academy, and said, "We are in the habit of reading Lutheran German books, but not English."

He imagined the Anglican Church to differ irreconcilably from the Greek and the Russian, and to be nearly the same as the Lutheran. He misused the word "Catholic" like the rest of them, and, when I would have corrected him, he smiled and excused himself on the ground of an inveterate habit. "But," he said, "that Latin word" (but it is a Greek word) "is nothing to us. Our Church and people are *Orthodox* and *Capholic*.[1] That is our word and pronunciation; but *Catholic* is by its very sound something *not* Orthodox and not *Capholic*." After hearing my explanations, he asked: "Is there not, then, in truth and fact a *very great* difference between your Church and ours?" I replied: "Unquestionably in externals, and in popular opinion and practice, there is an *enormous* difference; but I do not know that there is any great difference in formal doctrine. In essential doctrines and faith I must believe that there is *no* difference."

With respect to the great point of the Procession I repeated the substance of what Bishop Pearson says. But he at once replied: "We think that the Greek Fathers, before the controversy arose, allowed themselves to speak in a looser and freer way than they would

[1] [What does the word "Capholic" *mean* in the mouths whether of clergy or laity? Ought we *all* to be Capholics? If so, how can the word designate the Russian Church? if not, how does it answer to the word "Catholic" in the Creed?]

have spoken in, after the point had been questioned, discussed, and—settled." I said, "That is disrespectful to the Greek Fathers, and sounds like an admission that they differ less from the Roman doctrine than you do. I should not have been surprised to hear a Romanist treat the Fathers in that way." He also denied that the older Latin Fathers ever taught the procession from the Son, saying that *all* those passages had been interpolated since. He asked what I thought of their *Mass?* "Do you not find it," he asked, "very like that of the Catholiques?"

CHAPTER LXV.

M. Fortunatoff's Deliverances.

MY host speaks with horror of the German custom of eating blood, black-pudding, &c., whereas they observe still the canon of the Apostles, requiring us to abstain from things strangled, and from blood. For this reason, all their fowls are killed by cutting off their heads: and a difficulty arose, not long ago, about some who had become Christians, as they had lived before chiefly on game caught in nooses, and found them dead.

Also he says that, in the University, the Professors and Students are all free-thinkers. Many of them are German Lutherans; and still more Lutheranize, or Germanize. "Also the physicians and medical Professors and students are all free-thinkers, all," he said,[1] "to a man." Hence a priest who has to lecture on religion among them, is subjected to many

[1] [These sweeping generalizations must always be accepted with allowance.]

annoyances, questions, and difficulties. The Gymnasia and the University are for Law, Medicine, and Philosophy (Arts), what the diocesan district schools and seminaries, and the Spiritual Academies are for Theology. For the soldiers and sailors there are the Corps of Cadets, military and naval, and the Page Corps, and the Superior Military Academy; and for the medical students there is the Medical Academy, which we see from our windows. This has three hundred students. He would not believe that in England the medical men are anything else than free-thinkers: he supposed that they were free-thinkers all over the world; and he quoted from the Psalms, laughing, these words: "Shall the dead praise Thee, O Lord, or shall the physicians rise up to confess to Thee?" "Here, in Russia, at any rate, they are all unbelievers, and never communicate in all their lives." I said: "I thought whoever passed three whole years without communicating, was formally excommunicated, and fell under civil penalties?" "It *ought* to be so," he said, "but it is not so for the doctors; the doctors are never punished. Ah! *Pessimi sunt!*" (with emphasis). The priest of the Medical Academy here has so bad an opinion of them all that when one, not long ago, proposed to marry his daughter, he broke out into an absolute passion. However, on Sunday, F. told me he had been called to visit a doctor who was dying, and had gone with a

very faint hope of converting him; but to his surprise, the man readily made his confession, and seemingly with sincere contrition, and so died shortly afterwards.

Speaking of morals and of liberalism, he said: "The nobles are nearly all bad. In Petersburg scarcely any of the laity of the higher classes keep the Fasts, but in Moscow, very many do; in the country towns nearly all, and in the villages quite all. The higher classes think it fine to be like the Germans and the French. It is the custom for the priests to go round at Christmas to the houses of their parishioners, to glorify Christ's Nativity. This they do still to the merchants and citizens here, but scarcely ever to the Kniazes and Grafs (Princes and Counts)."

He once said: "If there is any character which it delights the peasants and merchants to see held up to ridicule, as in a comedy, or in light literature or stories, it is that of the Frenchified or Germanized Russian nobles, who, they say, are *not* Russians." And he himself acted to the life the contrary behaviour of the peasants and these nobles on entering the church. "Truly," he said, of the latter, "they are like *you*. They are quite against all ceremonies, as superstitious; they respect neither the Saints nor their *Icons*. It would be a good thing for them to be a little more on their knees, and to bump their heads a little against the pavement like the *mujiks*."

"Our vast army," he observed, "may, or may not be necessary, a priest is no judge of that. But, assuredly, it is a terribly bad thing for the morals and the religion both, of the lower classes; and a great hindrance to that development of the internal resources and population of Russia, which our Government has so much at heart."

I find the people here have a superstition about meeting a priest in the street; still worse a monk. Even ladies of rank, if in stepping from the house-door to their carriage they see a priest or a monk, will rush back again and send the carriage away, at the same time they spit, and drop a pin. Of course I am not speaking of really educated people.

Also, I find it is the common belief that the lights in the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem light of themselves by miracle on Easter Eve, or at least one light from which the rest are lighted. When I called it an imposture, the priest said, "You have not been at Jerusalem; ask M.; he has."

Once on my saying I did not like the double sense of the word *bogh*, which means both Deus and an image, as confusing ideas which ought to be kept apart, M. Fortunatoff denied the ambiguity, and affirmed that it simply meant *Deus*. I answered, "I have heard that it is constantly used of all *Icons*; and only the other day your little girl, three years old,

turning over the leaves of a book, pointed with her finger to the unmeaning wood-cuts at the top of every chapter, and said to all alike, '*Bojinka*'—'little god.'" He replied, "That is only sheer and gross stupidity in *mujiks* (peasants) and women." "If they are the offenders," I said, "you must have stupidity and ignorance enough among you. You make things to be worse than I supposed." "Well," he answered, "there is plenty of it among the people." After a few minutes, he added, "No Russian thinks the *Icons* to be gods, but peasants and women may sometimes speak as though they were through stupidity."

CHAPTER LXVI.

His Deliverances continued.

AT another time he said: "Count Pratasoff has been Ober-Prokuror now for about four years. Before that, I only know of him that he was one of the Emperor's suite. As for Prince Alexander, who held that office in the last reign, it could scarcely be said of him that he held any particular *creed*. The Ober-Prokuror has no *vote* in the Synod, but yet, what is strange," he added, laughing, "he has *very great influence*.

"As to the definition of the visible Church," he said, "it depends upon the sense that one attaches to the word *heresy*. We think the Latins to be *secundum quid* heretics, but not in relation to Luther and Calvin. As we think the Latin Church to agree almost entirely with us, we have never been disposed to recognize any other Churches or Societies in the West, as competing with it, but we recognize only the Latin. Yet in one sense they are heretics, though in another they are not." I said, "They either are heretics, and out of the

Church, or they are not." "No," he said, "not so. Our Church has remained the same, and has preserved everything. We certainly answer to the definition of the visible Church; but we have no need to include others in that definition which is fulfilled in the Greco-Russian communion: she stands alone, and self-sufficing. She needs not any others; and that absolute external unity and precise definition, which you require, would only do harm, for it would establish a sharp line of separation between us, who are within the definition and all others, and would destroy that tolerance and mutual friendly intercourse, and half recognition, which now subsists. I think that external differences cannot be avoided, but the essential unity of the faith is preserved internally. Other ecclesiastical bodies are not entirely bad; the Latins are partly right; the Lutherans also."

I said, "One ought not to confound confessions with organized Societies. One should distinguish between the Apostolical Churches according to their dioceses; differences in secondary and variable matters do not justify them in invading one another and setting up a new altar against the original altar. All individuals should conform to the customs of the local Church in which they happen to be, until they gain leave to act otherwise by the local Bishop."

M. Fortunatoff laughed at the Latin charges of the eleven or twelve heresies of the Greeks. "Any one

may easily see," he said, "how flimsy they are; they all depend on the primary assumption of the Pope's absolute authority and infallibility. When I was a student in the Academy," he said, "I went several times from curiosity to see the Latin rite; and I thought their Mass, not only vastly inferior to ours, but contemptible, and even ridiculous;—a congregation sitting or squatting on chairs with their faces in books, an organ at work, priests gesticulating in dumb show, and such a theatrical air about it all. I saw the Bishop sitting on one side of the sanctuary—not in the middle of the Church, and the celebrant retiring from him backwards with three reverences; whereas our priests merely bow to the Bishop, and turn round and proceed to their sacred duty."

He added, "You, from being neighbours, are still half Latins; you excuse the Pope and the Latin Church in almost everything." "That certainly is a most unjust assertion," I answered. Two days later he said, alluding to this conversation, "I often am disputing for disputing's sake" (to put the case on both sides, I suppose he meant); "but in truth I think that the Latins scarcely differ by any real difference from us; and those two or three whom I have seen, explained away their fire of purgatory, and on all points seemed to have a very poor defence of themselves, and rather apologized for their variations, and explained them in our sense, than proved any point against us."

CHAPTER LXVII.

M. Fortunatoff on the Sacraments.

HE hears confessions chiefly in Lent. A crowd of people, waiting for their turn, stand together in the body of the church, and the Priest, standing on the *solea*,[1] in his *epitrachelion*, with a disk and light before the *Icon* of Christ, reads the preparation, &c., down to the questions, once for all. Then he repeats the Ten Commandments, and the people go up, one by one, behind a movable screen, set on the *solea*. The priest asks against which of the commandments they have sinned; they confess; and then he imposes penance, and absolves them, laying his *epitrachelion*, and his hand, on their heads. "They ought, no doubt," he said, "to particularize, so far as is necessary, to make clear the nature and degree of the greater sins; but there may be sometimes a thousand to confess in one day, or at least in two or three days, in one week; and it is unavoidable that there should be many bad confessions."

[1] [This seems to be the step before the *iconostasis* leading into the sanctuary.]

He not only owned that lay people cannot communicate often without giving up their worldly business; but he said that it ought to be so. "If the custom in early times was different, this was because then the Christians followed no worldly business. You cannot serve God and mammon. The outward preparation (to fast for a week beforehand, and to attend the services of the Church three times daily, and to go to Confession), though no doubt it was meant to assist the inward preparation, is no more than what is necessary. It is not an easy thing to prepare one's self properly; and it is easier to prepare well once a year than often or habitually." And he cast bitterly in my teeth our contrary Anglican practice and profanation of the Sacrament by inviting all who will to come and take it without any preparation or confession, having eaten a hearty breakfast (as Madame Potemkin said of her governess) just before. "A pretty improvement it would be in us to follow such an example! No, indeed; whatever yours may do, our Church knows better the reverence due to so great a Sacrament." I said, "I think the custom now existing among the Latins on this point is better than yours." He replied, "Quite the contrary! Ours shows that we have a deeper sense of the greatness of the mystery than the Latins have." Mademoiselle N. (who is so fond of reading Fénélon and St. François de Sales)

said, "Lay people—i.e. ladies whose time is their own—might without difficulty communicate once in six weeks if they wished it" (that is, twice in each of their four Lents); "but oftener than that I think would be even prohibited."

The Countess Anna Orloff, I was told afterwards, lives close to a monastery near Novgorod, and communicates daily. She is daughter of the Count Alexis Orloff Tchesmensky. She emancipated her serfs, and has expended half her fortune in restoring and enriching the Youvieff monastery, three versts from Novgorod. She has a house in the capital, and is a "Dame d'honneur;" and any one meeting her would take her to be a fashionable lady. But she lives by rule, and receives to dinner only on Tuesdays and Saturdays; and all her guests must leave at seven p.m. She never eats meat, and communicates often, if not daily. Her director, the Archimandrite Photius, is now dead, but she still follows the rules he gave her. They spoke also of another lady named Tchoutchkoff, now Abbess of a convent, founded by her on the battlefield of Borodino, where her husband was killed. Her only son, a youth of sixteen, dying soon after, she retired into a convent at Voronege. She is now in Petersburg, having come to be godmother to the Princess of Darmstadt, the fiancée of the Hereditary Grand Duke, when she is reconciled to the Church and confirmed.

F. blamed the Latins for not giving the Chrism and Holy Communion to baptized infants, saying, "If you make the development of the intellect a necessary preliminary, you should postpone baptism."

He said it was a common error to regard the anointing of the sick as a preparation for death (viaticum); the primary purpose of it being to obtain healing of the body, which often occurred, to his knowledge. The vulgar error, which exists in Russia, has arisen from the mistake, from the sound of the *soborovatsia*, from *sobor*, "an assembly of priests" for *sberatsia*, "to prepare for a journey." St. James says, "Let him send for the elders of the Church;" and in the Russian Church the sick man sends for seven priests, if they can be had, though one will suffice. "Last year," said Mr. F., "I with six others administered *soborovanie*, that is, united prayer with unction, to the priest of the Samson Church, and, after he had been given over by the doctors, he recovered."

In the old times, before Peter the Great and the Synod, mixed marriages were not allowed in Russia. There are seven degrees of consanguinity or affinity, within which marriage is forbidden; so second cousins cannot marry, nor can one marry the child of one's second cousin; third cousins may marry. The celebration of a wedding is called the crowning of a couple, from the crowns which are used in it. There is a

slight penance for a second marriage; far more for a third; a fourth is forbidden altogether. If a man is banished to Siberia for life, his wife after three years may marry again.

They have not the four seasons for Ordinations, nor do they ordain a number of Priests and Deacons at once, but only one Deacon or Priest in one Liturgy.

That there are seven Sacraments or Mysteries is a point of faith; whereas we in England seem to recognize only two. "Your difficulty is only verbal," he said, "since you admit all the seven. The Church does what suits her communion, and she cannot go back or turn aside to quibble about words." He had at first contended that the Septenary number was from the beginning; at length he admitted that perhaps they had received it in later times from the Latins. "I see what you mean," he said; "they existed and we had them from the beginning, and at length the Pope counted them for us. Well, that is no great matter, we may admit that."

CHAPTER LXVIII.

M. Fortunatoff on the Church's Development.

"IN one point of view," F. said, "that Babylonian Reformation of the Lutherans and the Calvinists may facilitate the restoration of unity. For certainly, it makes both the Greeks and the Latins to feel a sort of common unity by contrast. But how can there be any union with *you*, when I see such great differences between us? besides that greatest one of all, that of the Procession, you reject the Intercession of the Saints and their Invocation, and the Relics, and the Icons. Now, to speak only of the Relics: they are our most unanswerable argument, the only argument which seems to be felt, against the sceptical objections of all the medical men here. We are far from having a process of canonization like that of the Pope. God Himself alone reveals sanctity in our Church, and Relics are always found by revelation, and attested by incorruption and other signs of sanctity (miracles of healing, apparitions, &c.). The Relics thus found

have often been those of persons quite unknown, and the places of whose burial were equally unknown. And then the police, the authorities, secular as well as spiritual on the spot, besides the Synod here, make a very strict examination. And can we yield to you then that the Relics are unnecessary, and to be rejected? Again, suppose even that you admit (as you say you do) the intercession of the Saints and their Invocation, this is necessarily connected with the outward veneration of their Icons, by which they become as it were present; and the one thing can scarcely exist without the other."

I objected that in point of fact the Invocations were common a century or two before the outward veneration of Icons was established. And even now the Nestorians, who have been separated for fourteen centuries, have Invocations of Saints, though they have never received Icons. To this, he replied, that even if it be so, still the necessary developments and perfection often come long after the principle which involved them.

In the same way, in alluding to some similar speech of a Russian priest, Mr. Blackmore had said to me: "These Greeks and Russians seem to think Christianity to be like a great plant, which was not produced at once perfect, but only came gradually to its full growth, which it attained at the time of the seventh

Council." And M. Mouravieff once said, as if making an admission: "I feel that this tells in favour of the Latins, that they claim so boldly to carry on the idea and the exercise of ecumenical authority, and can point to a succession of what they call General Councils, not stopping short, as we do, with seven, but continuing them almost down to our times, or at least to the Council of Trent, where they seem at last to have stopped."

On the other hand, the old metropolitan of Petersburg, Seraphim, in condemning the Latin doctrine of the "Filioque" as contrary to the original and ecumenical tradition, and based merely upon human reasonings, used to utter this maxim: "Our Church knows no developments." [1]

The truth is, that commonly, the more rigid and the more ignorant assert at first that everything, small and great, is of equal necessity, and equally derived by uninterrupted tradition from the very beginning. Invocations, Icons, the law of auricular confession before Easter, and even the doctrine of the Sacraments being seven, are all to be found in all the Fathers, and were all taught and delivered by the Apostles. When driven out of this assertion, they fall back on the idea of growth or development, still maintaining as before the necessity of everything, whether ancient or modern. On the

[1] [Was it the residence of De Maistre in Petersburg which led to the discussion of this subject?]

other hand, the more learned and spiritual, who are well aware that many parts of the existing system are not of Apostolic Antiquity, make a distinction between the original tradition and all subsequent growth or development. "The whole faith," they say, "complete and entire, is plainly read in the Scriptures, and plainly handed down by the Church from the beginning, and admits of no other change or increase but that which may be made by the condemnation and denial of new errors. But, besides this substance of the faith itself, there are also many other things, some of Apostolic tradition, and others of subsequent growth or institution, which are of very great importance, and which cannot be dispensed with by the Church, without indirectly endangering good morals and even the faith itself, to say nothing of her own authority and existence."

He said: "Discussions between individuals under authority are of little use: the Churches themselves should confer together and make mutual explanations. But it might be well if in the first instance some competent persons on both sides would examine accurately and discuss in writing those points which seem the most difficult, and on which the apparent difference is greatest."

CHAPTER LXIX.

The Potemkins—Fasts and Church Services.

NOV. 15 [o.s.].—I dined in the Millionnaia [with the Potemkins], it being the first day of the Fast. There are no dispensations, such as are common among the Latins; only in cases of necessity people dispense themselves, for instance, women nursing their infants, children, too, under seven. And after that age very few young people of the higher classes fast till they are grown up. And now the higher classes here are so Protestantized, that very few of them observe the fasts at all, at least in Petersburg, where they are mixed up with 70,000 Germans. Some, indeed many, may keep the first week and the last in Lent. The poor all keep the whole of each fast most religiously, and they do not eat fish, nor do they get potatoes. The number of guests, frequenting the sort of open table kept by the Potemkins, will now fall off, as there is scarcely anything served but fast fare.

They spoke of the Church Services as being certainly

far too long, fit only for the monasteries, from whence they were taken, and as causing great embarrassment and irreverence. For on the one hand, vast numbers of the common people have a superstitious horror of any abridgment, so that it might be even dangerous to make any change by authority; and on the other hand, it would often be physically impossible for priest or people, living in the world, to perform or attend them, if they were celebrated in a becoming manner at full length. Besides, the civilized and worldly people in the towns, who are increasing in numbers, are as much repelled by the length of the services as the merchants and peasants are pleased with it. The result has been that a general system has been established of reading the appointed *kathisms* of the Psalter, and the Hours, and the greater part of the *kanons* and some other parts of the services, with the utmost rapidity possible. Everybody complains of this irreverence, and is ashamed of it; and even canons have been made at different times to correct it: but all to no purpose. And notwithstanding all that is done by singing rapidly instead of slowly, singing only once instead of several times, substituting reading for singing, and omitting all readings from the *Synaxaria*, Homilies, and sermons, &c., it is still necessary for all those priests, readers, and singers, who officiate in churches frequented by the higher classes, to make

many actual omissions at their own discretion, in order to bring the services within the compass, either of their people's patience or their own physical power.

Thus, for example, it is the rule to read through the whole four Gospels in the Church during the Royal Hours, on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday of the Great Week. But M. Fortunatoff being the only priest attached to the Hospital of Marines, reads on those days only one Gospel each year. Again, he will often during Lent omit the Nocturn and begin at once with the Matins at the early service. And in truth, even when there are several priests, it is wonderful how they are able to go through the services as they do, during Lent. Not only the early service at 4 a.m. lasting three hours, but the Hours and Vespers (with the Liturgy after the Vespers on certain days) before they touch any food. And then, when they do eat, about one or two o'clock p.m., they must not eat anything that comes of flesh: neither eggs, nor milk, nor cheese, nor butter; nor even fish. It is true indeed, that at Petersburg fish is generally eaten by the parochial clergy in Lent, except during the first week and the last. But this is merely an abuse; and the infringement of the rule does not extend beyond the capital. After dinner in the evening (in Lent) there is still a third service, the Great Compline. And besides all these services the

occasional duty is very heavy at that season. "In fact," said my host, "we all get very thin during Lent, and the body, no less than the spirit, rejoices on the coming of Easter.'

CHAPTER LXX.

Conversation with the Priest Raichofsky.

SUNDAY, November 17.—I went to see the priest Raichofsky, and translated to him the consecration prayer of the Scottish and the American Liturgies. But he asked: "*When* were those Liturgies made? and by *whom?*" He did not like the idea of people in later times altering or composing Liturgies.

As we were speaking of the question of the Procession, I said: "It seems to me that there is a certain bias in the minds of your clergy which prevents them from accepting fairly and fully the expressions and the sense of the Fathers." When I had admitted that the Greek terminology is that of the old Fathers, and had quoted to him Bishop Pearson's statement on this point, he objected: "Why, then, do you not leave out the clause, and then there would no longer be any difference?" I said: "We must have some good reason for leaving out orthodox words, even though they were improperly put in. And even if you asked us to leave

them out, as improperly put in, we could scarcely do this so long as you seem to deny or to suspect and dislike the language of your own Greek Fathers. By no means all admit so much as you admit, viz. 'through the Son' in the sense of procession as to the substance, and not merely *interposito Filio*, though some seem to deny even that." "Ah!" he said, "the separation was not originally nor really made on account of this question; but for other causes—for human passions. But there would be many and great differences between us, even if that could be removed. Here, in your XXXIX. Articles, (Article XXII.,) your Church rejects Images, Relics, and Invocations, and says that they are contrary to Scripture, and vain and futile inventions." And he smiled as he quoted the words of the Article. I replied: "I do not deny that you may reasonably suspect some of our Articles, and demand explanations, or if you please supplements and corrections, especially of Article XI., about Justification, and of Article XXXI., about the sacrifices of Masses." He said: "I see that in your Dissertation there is very little disagreement to be discovered on any of these points, but the Articles themselves seem to reject and condemn them all, without any reserve or limitation, and even add abusive language." "And," he objected, "not all your people interpret your Articles as you do." I replied: "Comparatively few, I fear. But that does not touch the question which is

the true interpretation of this or that Article. No doubt explanations are needed from our Church, and it would be a very good thing if we were called upon to make them. That might help us much."

CHAPTER LXXI.

Church Plate, Books and Vestments—Income of Priests.

ONE day F. showed me the ornamented Gospels and the sacred vessels of his Church, which are kept in a glazed case in the S.E. corner of the sanctuary, outside the handsome columns which surround the altar. Close to this case, against the south wall, there is a huge chest for the *phenolia* and other robes, some of which, he said, must have cost as much as forty pounds. Another day, as we were out walking, we asked the price of one of the smallest and plainest sets of altar plate, not including any ornamented covers for the binding of the Gospel, but only the paten or disk, asterisk, chalice, spoon, lance, shell for hot water, and cross. The sum named as the lowest that would be taken was 350 paper roubles (about 15*l.*); but he thought that 10*l.* would be enough. The whole expense of furnishing a new church or chapel with what is absolutely necessary can scarcely be brought under 75*l.* or 100*l.*; and then

it will be very poorly provided. But the vestments last; and from time to time fresh offerings are added. If one supposes the building and the fabric of the church to be provided, a monastery of the lowest class, or hermitage, must have a capital of at least 700*l.* to secure its existence. The church vestments being very durable, and accumulating, and having all been consecrated, when at last they are wearing out, are used at the burials of the clergy, who are always buried in the robes of their order.

It is contrary to public opinion and to good manners, and even to distinct canons, for priests' wives to wear any gay-coloured clothes, or to make themselves bare, or to dance; and they are always addressed, without respect to their age or youth, by the title of Mother (Matushka), as the priest by the title of Father (Batushka). M. Fortunatoff's wife told me that this is not so with the Lutheran Pastors: not only are their wives quite free to follow all the fashions of society; but even the Pastors themselves go to the theatre and dance.

F. also told me that there is no such thing as a priest marrying a second time (after Ordination). If any one did, the Bishop would cut off his hair, and secularize him, and he would be made a common soldier. "I could show you such a soldier." I said, "With us they can marry a second wife." "That," he

answered, "is far better; the evil of our rule is felt." When a priest dies, his widow and family are saved from destitution thus: If there is a son old enough, or nearly old enough, he succeeds to his father's place, and helps to maintain the widow and her family. Or else, some student from the Spiritual Academy, or from the diocesan seminary, is found willing to marry a daughter of the deceased priest, to whose cure he is soon afterwards appointed almost as a matter of course. The usual age for a student to enter the Academy being twenty, he is twenty-four when the course is completed; and so there is a year's interval, in which he may marry, before he is old enough to be ordained deacon and priest. The parochial clergy in former times were supported entirely from the customary offerings and fees of their people, and the cultivation of their glebes. The addition of Government allowances in money, which is now made in many of the dioceses, and which is to be extended to all, is a recent improvement.

The offerings and fees given on certain occasions, being quite voluntary, vary between certain limits according to the circumstances and the disposition of the giver. For a *moleben*, a common peasant will give perhaps ten kopecks copper (about 3*d.*), another will give a paper rouble (about 11*d.*), others of the higher classes from five to twenty roubles, about ten roubles being, perhaps, the commonest alms for such people. The fees

for a wedding will vary from twenty roubles to two hundred. But the poor in this case also, as in the former, give a much smaller fee in copper. After each confession, i.e. before they go to communion, they make an offering, which varies from five to fifteen roubles. For a baptism it is much in the same way, though if the Priest goes to baptize the child of a servant in the house, it would probably be less—say a silver rouble (equal to three and a half paper roubles or copper), or half a silver rouble. Again, when a priest visits his parishioners at Christmas and at Easter, every householder makes him such an offering as has been customary in that house or family. And the priests of each parish, who usually live together in towns in one Court (door), and are often four in number, throw the whole together, and divide it. Thus at the Church of the Admiralty here (used as the parish church for the unfinished Isaakski Sobor) there are three priests, who serve in the church week and week about, though any one of them who may be at home is liable to be called upon for occasional offices. F. thinks that each of these three priests must get for his share at least a thousand pounds sterling annually.

I find that all the money obtained from the sale of candles in the churches goes to the Synod, in aid of the maintenance of the Spiritual Schools, Seminaries, and Academies. Those collections which I see made

in a church go all to its repair and ornamenting. The money put into the box or bag attached to an *Icon*, goes partly to the *Icon*, partly to the church, and partly and chiefly to the clergy. There is also in a church a separate box for the clergy; and worshippers who get a *moleben* (*paraclesis*), or are present at one, sung before an *Icon*, give as they please, either to the *Icon* alone or partly to the clergy. There are also fees or presents for occasional offices performed for individuals. The houses of the priests belong to the church; and the administration of temporalities, except in Government establishments, is in the hands of the bishop and his clergy. A priest will sometimes let his private property stand in the name of his wife, that it may escape confiscation for (if so be) misconduct.

There are three Spiritual Academies, viz., at Petersburg (i.e. in the Nefski), one near Moscow (in the Troitsa), and one at Kieff (in the Bratsky, in the lower city). A fourth at Kazan has been added since 1840. In that here there are in all 150 students. They choose out for the Academy one, two, or three of the best scholars of each of the diocesan seminaries. There are fifty governments, and each government is also a diocese (*eparchy*) and has its Bishop and its seminary. Of the Nefsky Lavra the aged Metropolitan Seraphim is Archimandrite; of the Troitsa, Philaret, Metropolitan of Moscow; at Kieff another Philaret, Metropolitan of

Kieff. In the Nefsky there are other honorary Archimandrites, who have been called from a distance with a view of being made Bishops; some too who cannot be made Bishops from their ignorance of Latin.

CHAPTER LXXII.

Church Music.

THE singing in the churches here, as I have said before, is certainly very pleasing, suited to the sense of the words, moving, and devout. It is as attractive as some of the readings, or rather gabblings (for some things are read very well), are disagreeable and repulsive. F. said, "If you buy the books with the musical notes printed in them, you will have in them the music, such as it is, sung in the monasteries and in churches, where there are only two or three men singers. But here in the city, and where there is a choir of singers, some parts of the services are sung to music arranged in parts. This music, which is based upon that of the books, is not printed. It has much in it borrowed from the Italian. Some time ago, a certain first-rate Italian singer being in the kapella or practising-room of the choir of the Winter Palace was moved to tears by what they were singing when she came in, though she did not know a word of Russ, nor

was told till afterwards that what she heard was part of the office for the dead. The singings for the Resurrection at Easter inspire the whole congregation with the most lively joy; it is impossible not to feel transported; the responses to the priest's announcement, "Christ is risen!" are made with an indescribable buzz or hum (cum fremitu) running over the whole church. F.'s mother had a great wish to die in Easter week, and this is a popular feeling.

CHAPTER LXXIII.

John Veniamineff, Missionary.

NOV. 23.—Dined in the Millionnaia, and met there the priest, John Veniamineff, the missionary of the Aleoutines. He was by origin from Irkoutsk, and the mission was supported by the Russian American Company. He came here, coming round Cape Horn to try to obtain a bishop for his people. The whole population of the islands is 60,000, of whom now 10,000 are Christians. There was a missionary among them before named Macarius, who baptized a number of them, but could not instruct them properly, as he knew nothing of their language; and he stayed only a year. It being reported that the natives were ready to be baptized, the Bishop of Irkoutsk sought for a priest willing to go there, but all declined. At length this priest John, having been interested by what he heard of the natives, offered himself and went. His children were all born in the islands, but at length he sent them with his wife to Irkoutsk for education.

In the islands he made all his own furniture; and when he had learned the language thoroughly he translated some of the Church-prayers, the Catechism, and the Gospel of St. Matthew, which has now been printed in Slavonian letters. Not long ago, after his arrival here, news came overland of the death of his wife. He came by way of Rio Janeiro, and if he starts soon to return by land he will not reach the islands before September, 1841. During the first seven years he conversed with the natives, and taught them through an interpreter, one of the Russian American Company's people. He is now living here in the house of that company. The natives are incredibly zealous in attending divine worship, remaining several hours with great devotion, though they do not understand, yet knowing that it is worship. The service is still in Slavonic. He has a reader or singer, a Russian, who accompanies him, and one native priest. Others are now learning to read, and they have set up schools. They can nearly all say the Lord's Prayer, and a great many the Creed. Those who are not yet Christians are well disposed to become so, and are continually being instructed and baptized. They communicate once in about two years, as the missionary cannot visit all the islands oftener. I asked whether those who chanced to have the opportunity communicated oftener than once a year? He

replied, "No, never." I asked what kind of Church discipline he exercised. Whether for greater sins there was excommunication and public penance? He said the case of great crimes was as yet unknown among them. They seem to be the most mild, virtuous, simple, inoffensive, and submissive people on the face of the earth; wonderfully exercised in patience, often going several days together without food. The only case at all like those which I had in mind was one of justifiable homicide, as we should call it; but he, on the man's confession, judged him in an assembly, explained that he had committed a great sin by killing a man even in self-defence, and said he must pray for forgiveness for a year; and he also would pray for him. The man said he would pray for ten years. If any great crime were to be committed, they would give the offender up to be judged and punished by the Russian law; his spiritual absolution would depend on the Priests being satisfied of his repentance. He confirmed the story which I had heard from Admiral Ricard of the old native who was supernaturally instructed; only, instead of its being one Angel that appeared to him, the missionary said that he used to see two together. He had been baptized long before, but only very slightly instructed. The people came to the missionary Veniamineff and asked him whether they were to honour him and listen

to him, or treat him as a sorcerer. They told him, when he inquired about the old man's character, that it had always been very good; that he prayed much to God, reproved them when they did wrong, advised them, taught them to pray, and told them all the same things that he told them; that he often showed supernatural knowledge; when they were sick he prayed for them, and obtained their recovery; when they were suffering from famine he would tell them where they should find a dead whale. He had foretold to them that he, the missionary, would come among them, and bade them follow and obey him in all things. He sent for the old man himself, who showed him the place where the Angels in white clothes (whom he called men) used to appear to him. He said that they told him all that they told him in the name of God. He knew much of the contents of the Old Testament (as well as of the New) by means of such revelations, viz. the story of Cain and Abel, that of Abraham, and the doctrine of the Mass. He continued to see the Angels after M. Veniamineff's arrival; but before long died. After the missionary had seen him for the last time he foretold that he would go to Petersburg, which was then far from his thoughts. This he learned when he revisited the island, and found that the old man had died a little before a happy and edifying death. There are some of

them who know all the Psalms by heart in Slavonic without understanding them. M. Veniamineff was dressed in cotton velvet, and wore a gold pectoral cross and a red ribbon. (N.B.—This custom of giving the insignia of Orders of Knighthood to ecclesiastics was introduced by the Emperor Paul to the great annoyance of his old preceptor Platon, the metropolitan of Moscow, whom however he forced to wear the ribbon and star given him.) He had a rough, weather-beaten look, but one that bespoke a simple, practical, decided character, and his manner was very friendly, open, and cheerful. He apologized for having forgotten his Latin, so that I could say but little to him except through the Potemkins, who interpreted for me. He had brought Madame P. one of the native dresses of the Aleoutines—very thin and transparent, and as light as a feather, covering the whole person and the head, and protecting it against the excessive moisture of their climate. It looked as if it were made of fish bladders. The climate of those islands is more temperate than that of Petersburg by at least ten degrees. They cannot grow wheat or corn, as it will not ripen; but their potatoes and roots are excellent. The potato was introduced into Kamchatka by Admiral Ricard, and I suppose it was carried to the Aleoutine Islands from thence.

CHAPTER LXXIV.

Mr. Palmer is presented to the Metropolitan of Moscow.

NOV. 27. [o.s.]—Count Pratasoff took me at 7.30 p.m. to the Metropolitan Philaret of Moscow. He said to me in Latin, "We are very glad to see you, and to hear that your Church is favourable to unity, and respects Antiquity;" and he asked about the Anglican Liturgy, saying, "All our Liturgies are most ancient; but the Latin Church has changed its Liturgy for the worse in many points, for instance, in omitting the Invocation of the Holy Ghost; and not only so, for in the East we adhere to the Apostle's injunction, and to our Lord's own example, both as to the kind of bread (leavened ἄρτος, not ἄζυμος), and as to the unity of the bread." I said, "In this we agree with the East." *Metropolitan:* "I am glad to hear that you now reverence Antiquity." *Answer:* "Our Church has always preferred to follow Antiquity, and, together with her XXXIX. Articles, imposed in 1571 on all her clergy a canon binding them, 'ut ne quid unquam pro

concione doceant, quod a populo religiose teneri et credi velint,' &c., to preach nothing as of faith but what is contained in Holy Scripture, and what the Catholic Fathers and ancient Bishops have collected from the same." They both observed, "That canon is very good." "Also," I said, "in two out of three Liturgies in use among us, we have restored the *Oblation* and the Invocation of the Holy Ghost after the recital of Christ's words." He asked about the origin of our Liturgies, and I replied that in great part they were derived from the Roman. Count Pratasoff here asked, "You had then the Roman till the Reformation?" *Answer:* "Yes, from the time of the Normans, and in the time of the Anglo-Saxons also, our Liturgy followed chiefly the Roman; but before that, to the end of the sixth century, the British Churches had had Liturgies of their own, as had also the Churches of Gaul and of Spain." "But now," he said, "you have omitted some things which you once had in your Liturgy. For instance, does your Church now admit Prayers for the Dead?" *Answer:* "They *are* omitted (except by implication) from the Liturgy, but they are not rejected or condemned. There was a legal decision on this point (in the Woolfrey case) two years ago." (*The Count:* "That is clear proof.") "The Prayers which formerly were in the Ritual were omitted, being popularly connected with the doctrine of

Purgatory." *The Count:* "The abuse of a thing good in itself does not justify its rejection." They both said, "That popular liberty, which you have in England, does not seem very favourable to ecclesiastical humility and discipline." "No," I said, "it is the devil's liberty, and the political mischief all came from the root of religious rebellion. He who has rebelled against his God will not scruple to rebel against his sovereign." They both smiled and asked me, "Are there many in England who think with you?" and the Count desired me to explain on what grounds I asked to be admitted to communion.

I did so, saying, "In the Creed we declare that the Church is one, and we believe in the unity of the Church." *Metropolitan:* "It *ought* to be one, but it is *not*." I continued, "The division which exists is impious and detestable." *Metropolitan:* "Unity, no doubt, is much to be desired." *The Count:* "Are there many of the English who have the same idea with you about intercommunion?" *Answer:* "Most of them do not think at all about it; they take the division existing *de facto* to be a kind of necessity; but the formal doctrine of our Church and the professions of our great divines are quite different." "Is that so, indeed?" they asked. *Answer:* "Our Church has never excommunicated the Greek Churches, nor the Latin Churches of the Continent; only, we excom-

municated the Romanists who are in England and in Ireland, and in Greece, and in Russia, as *schismatics.*" "That is what I cannot in the least understand," said the Metropolitan; "they are all the same with the Latins of the Continent; communion depends on unity of belief. If they are fit to be communicated with abroad, they ought to be one with you at home; if they are to be excommunicated at home they are to be excommunicated everywhere." I answered, "Yes, if they were heretics; but we excommunicate them at home, not as heretics, but as schismatics. A layman among us might hold all the errors of the Papists as theological opinions, blamed as they are by our Church, without his being excommunicated, unless in outward acts he behaved rebelliously." *The Metropolitan:* "He could not have, or certainly ought not to have such liberty, for communion requires the strictest unity of belief." "As a matter of fact," I said, "he certainly can, but the case is not likely to occur, for, if he held all Roman errors, he would hold among them the necessity of communion with Rome. However, it is true no doubt, as your Eminence says, that strictest unity in the *faith* is requisite for communion, but then the question arises, what precisely is *the* Faith, and our Church makes a great distinction between that Faith which every one must keep whole and undefiled, and secondary theological opinions, which are neither

essential dogmas, if true, nor heresies, if false. We consider there are fundamentals of teaching and belief." The Metropolitan answered, "I cannot at all understand it. The Church should be perfectly one in belief. There are now several divided communions, each one in itself and alike in all its parts. It remains then only to ascertain which of them is right, or most right." I answered, "Whether rightly or wrongly, our Church makes this distinction. We have never charged the Papists with formal heresy; beyond the necessary faith, then, we must not so much look to identity of opinion as to the legitimacy of the local altar or chair, to distinguish in each part of the world the true Church and to constitute its unity." *Metropolitan:* "I deny this distinction of essential dogmas and secondary opinions, and think it contrary to the sentiment of all the Fathers." The Count said, "On that principle you would be an Universalist, changing your religion with your dwelling-place, as often as you crossed the frontier from country to country. Besides, who is to judge what is essential and what is not essential? That is most difficult, and opens the door to endless diversity and confusion." I answered, "No Church has ever denied this distinction which you would reject, nor can avoid making it;" and I went on to give instances in illustration.

At length the Metropolitan admitted my distinction,

but with the remark that there are many things so important, so intimately connected with, so practically inseparable from dogma, that to tolerate them is quite incompatible with unity of communion, belief, or Church." The Count repeated, "You are then a sort of Universalist: you admit at once both the Latin and the Greek saints." "Certainly I do," I answered, and the Metropolitan remarked that the Council of Florence had been ready to do the same.

The Count now for the first time asked me to state to the Metropolitan our definition of the Visible Church, though I had signified it implicitly, and this I did as follows:—"The one visible Catholic Church on earth, the true continuation and representative of that founded at Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost is at this time divided by differences about secondary matters into three local parts, all agreeing in the necessary faith, viz. the Orthodox Eastern Churches and the Western; the latter being subdivided into the Continental and the British. In their respective dioceses each holds original and legitimate jurisdiction. And if, in consequence of the *de facto* quarrels between them, any Bishop of either of the three seeks to draw away Christians from the other two, to organize them into separate congregations of his own way of thinking, thus making points of difference points of essential faith, we say that these new congregations are schismatical.

The Metropolitan said, "You admit then the Oriental, the Latin Catholic, and the British Churches all at once." "Yes," I replied, "each in its original diocese or region, not otherwise." The Metropolitan again said, "I cannot understand this;" he added, "Do many of you hold this theory? I think it can be anything but general." "My Lord Metropolitan," I answered, "it is no theory, but that definition of the Visible Church, which has its place in the prayers and formal acts of our Church, and has the general testimony of our theologians." "These are matters," the Count and the Metropolitan said, "for some future Council or Councils, but they cannot be treated of with individuals." "Your language," said the latter, "suits well enough for the fourth century, but is out of place in the present state of the world; such a wish for unity of communion is very good and laudable; it is to be hoped that such feelings may become general, and then in due time the necessary steps may be taken by the authorities on all sides. But as things are, individuals cannot be treated with or recognized in the first instance; now at any rate there is division."

I said as before, "I do not see meanwhile how individuals can either be exonerated of their duty to the local church in which they find themselves, or have lost their right to the sacraments." The Metropolitan answered: "In a case of necessity, such a claim might

be considered; yours is not such, because there is an English church here to which you can go." "I acknowledge no English church," I replied, "in your dioceses; there cannot be two rightful churches in one place." The Metropolitan said, "But you have a church here; and Mr. Law is under some Bishop—I suppose the Bishop of London." I replied, "The English here are under no bishop of ours, nor at Moscow. They have their own chaplain, and pay him, and to them he is responsible—that is to the Russian Company." This surprised him much. "But then," he said, "your Bishops at home ought, if your view of things is right, to teach their people better, to teach them to seek union with us, and to go to our churches." "But," I answered, "they cannot go to your churches if you will not receive them; and if a man going abroad asked his Bishop as to seeking communion—" "Ah! what would he answer?" asked the Count. "Why he would give an answer such as this probably, 'You may try, if you like, your disposition is good; there can be little doubt they will refuse you, but there will be no harm in making the experiment.'" "Indeed, would they go as far as this?" interrupted the Count. "Well," I answered, "they could scarcely do otherwise, for the principles of our Church are well known. I myself consulted in that way the head of my college, who is not the least eminent of our living theologians, and he

heartily recommended me to make the application, and gave me a letter."

"Then you mean," said the Count, "that all your English are schismatics because they have not brought letters to us from their bishop or archbishop?" "Not absolute schismatics," I answered, "but that is the strict form." "Why, then, have you not brought such letters yourself?" I answered, "I *have* brought, as I have said, a letter from the head of my college, and I would also have brought a Letter in form from the Archbishop of Canterbury, but he, supposing the letter of the President of my College enough, thought it better not to countersign his letter, nor to give me any other separate certificate. The Archbishop knew of my intention, and expressed no disapproval of it." Count Pratasoff laughed, and turning to the Metropolitan said, "Ah! ah! ils ne voulaient pas se compromettre." I said, "They feared lest a formal letter might be taken to give me some kind of public mission; and the more so because they knew that I carried with me a printed Dissertation upon the XXXIX. Articles of the Anglican Church, to which, being merely my private composition, they would not desire to seem to give any authority. They said that I had all I needed in the letter of my Superior." The Count said again, laughing, "Ah! ah! but he is only a Priest, like an Archimandrite; his letter is nothing; you should have

brought the same countersigned by the Bishop." "Well," I replied, "if you will answer me thus, 'that I must bring letters from a Bishop before you take into consideration my demand of communion,' I will not lose time in applying for them. They were by no means refused me when I started; indeed, the chaplain of the Archbishop cautioned me against saying that they were."

Thus the interview ended. Archbishop Philaret repeated his first words, when the Count presented me to him. "We are all very glad to see you in Russia, and hope that good may spring from this seed." Upon this I took my leave, and left the Count and the Metropolitan still together.

CHAPTER LXXV.

His Letter to the President of Magdalen.

NOVEMBER 30 [o.s.].—I wrote to the President of Magdalen College a letter which I read to M. Fortunatoff. The heads were these :—

1. That the Church of England, considered as differing from common Protestantism, is even less known in Russia than in France.

2. That the Russian clergy are either less careful, or less willing than the French to distinguish between the necessary faith and secondary matters ; and again between what is intrinsically necessary and what is necessary only from obedience to authority, whether local or universal.

3. That they are not clear respecting the definition of the visible Catholic Church, but are either vaguely liberal, or narrowly Greek, the forms used in the reception of individual proselytes requiring them to anathematize indiscriminately, as soul-destroying heresies, the errors of the Papists, the Lutherans, and the Calvinists.

4. That they make no clear distinction between Apostolical churches, holding the necessary faith, as the Roman and the Anglican, and others which are plainly heretical, as the Nestorian; nor again between an orthodox church which is on its own territory, and has there a legitimate jurisdiction, and those which are intrusive and schismatical, as setting up altar against altar.

5. That they would be much afraid of taking any steps which would scandalize the Lithuanian Uniates, or the Austrian Slavonians of the Greek rite, or their own ignorant peasants, or their own dissenters (*raskolniks*), or the Greeks of the Levant; and such a step it would be to admit an Anglican to communion without his renouncing Anglicanism.

Mr. F. criticized it freely, and ended by going to his piano and singing the *Trisagion* (ἅγιος ὁ Θεός), the Cherubicon (Therefore with Angels, &c.), the Tersanctus (Holy, holy, holy); the Hymn (φῶς ἱλαρόν) the *Nunc dimittis*, and the *Te Deum*.

CHAPTER LXXVI.

Reconciliation and Marriage to Alexander of the Princess of Darmstadt.

DECEMBER 4 [o. s.].—Count Pratasoff having sent me a message to go to M. Skreepitsin's chambers, at 8 p.m. I went in a frost of twenty-three degrees, and drank tea with him, and two of his friends; one of whom I had met before at the Sergiofsky *poustin* (hermitage). They did not seem to approve the suggestion that there is a connexion between the primacy of St. Peter and that of the Pope. They said: "We must think a little before we admit that." M. Skreepitsin told me that the Count had asked permission for me to be present to-morrow in an upper room, (which looks down upon, from the end, into the church of the Winter Palace,) during the reconciliation of the young Princess of Darmstadt, the *fiancée* of the hereditary Grand Duke, Alexander; and he bade me to come to him at 9 a.m.

Next morning I went, accordingly; and about 10.15

he took me with him to the Palace, showing me the principal halls and rooms, in one of which (the Salle des Généraux) there was a portrait of our Duke. At last I was posted at the open arch, or window, of the church, with three rows of court ladies in front of me, who asked one another, with surprise, who I could be, and how I came there. The Princess, whose godmother was the Abbess of Borodino,[1] was first reconciled, and read, or rather said by heart, very distinctly and with emphasis, the six pages of answers which M. Skreepitsin last night would not let his friends call an abjuration, but which Count Pratasoff, to-day, in promising me a copy of the form, himself so called it, though he added: "We introduced into it for this particular occasion quelques adoucissements."

After the reconciliation the Princess joined the Imperial family, and was kissed by them all in turn. Then the Liturgy began; and, after the Consecration and the singing of the "It is meet," &c., she advanced, assisted by the Empress, made three low reverences before the *Icon* of Christ, and kissed it, and the like before the *Icon* of our Lady; and when the Deacon appeared with the chalice, adored, answered the usual questions, and was, by the Metropolitan, communicated standing.

Next day, Dec. 6, Commemoration of St. Nicholas,

[1] *Vid. supra*, p. 322.

and the Emperor's name-day was chosen for the betrothal. This ceremony, as well as the nuptials (coronation, as the latter is ordinarily called), is never performed by a Bishop, or by a *hieromonach*, but by a secular priest; at Moscow, by the Protopope of the Church of the Annunciation, in the Kremlin; here, by the Imperial Confessor, who is now the Archpriest Bajanoff. The betrothal is now commonly joined with the marriage itself; formerly in private houses, but now that is forbidden, and the prayers for the deposition of the marriage crowns are now commonly added at once; so that the interval formerly required before cohabitation, no longer exists. Marriages, and other ecclesiastical acts of the Raskolniks are, civilly, null and void.

CHAPTER LXXVII.

Conversation with M. Mouravieff.

DECEMBER 10 [o.s.].—M. Mouravieff gave me a palm, which he had brought from Jerusalem. He said that he had now read the "Treatise on the Church," by Mr. Palmer, of Worcester College, which I had put into his hands. "You are obliged," he said, "to apologize, and to cast about in order to defend yourselves, and your Reformation. But you cannot be defended. In that book the author fuses and patches together opinions and authorities, rejecting some, and accepting others; but the Eastern Church is calm, and immovable. She has a good conscience; she believes that she has kept all as it was at first. She has separated from no other church; while, in your case, it is plain how it was. It is painful to contemplate, but manifestly it was a violent irruption into the church of laymen, who mangled and altered their religion to suit their own purposes. Union with such a church is impossible. Others may reasonably come

to the Eastern Church and follow her; but she can yield nothing in any way, least of all to you, between whom and us there are so many more differences, and so much greater, than there are between us and Rome. No doubt there may be, and may have been, among you, some who are better disposed than the rest. Such individuals may try to recommend a better kind of theology; but union with a national church, which leaves such latitude for denying or asserting all kinds of opinion, is impossible. Our definition of the Church and our doctrines are clear, full, and indubitable, and rigidly maintained. There may be individual heretics, such as P., but their opposition to the Church is manifest." (Qu. How then do they remain protopopes in important parishes of the capital?) "But with you everything needs explanations and apologies. One of you sees a thing in one light, another in another; no two of you agree. There are your XXXIX. Articles, which any one may subscribe, and be a thorough-going Protestant. You, in your Dissertation, allow some things to us, and do not allow others; you amalgamate and reconcile and electicise, that Protestants you may not be. But if you were to dare to preach or to avow openly your anonymous Dissertation, they would call you a Papist, or a Greek, or I know not what."

Afterwards, when I had suggested that they might use their chaplains in London, so as to acquire a better

knowledge of the state of Church matters in England, and, by changing them after a few years, might form competent teachers of English, and readers and translators of the better English books, he replied with a smile, "We have no particular reason for cultivating such studies; English is not a classical language." "No special reason," I replied, "but at least some acquaintance with our better theology might with advantage be substituted for the German, which is now read in Russia." He answered, "If we read here German books, we do not adopt the errors of the Germans, but can distinguish between good and bad without help from you."

He said presently, "You saw on Thursday how an individual may be received." I answered, "I saw then simply the reception of a convert from soul-destroying heresy to the Catholic Church, not to the local church of Russia. Now it may seem to you all very well to call the Eastern Church the whole Catholic Church, and to "reconcile" Latins, Lutherans, Calvinists, Anglicans, one and all, as heretics, foreign to it; but I am sure that this will not stand; sooner or later, the theory will break down; it is a plain absurdity. If the Latins are heretics, the works of Thomas à Kempis, Francis de Sales, and Fénélon are the books of heretics; is the penitent to confess the reading of them as a sin?" "No," he said, "the works of heretics need

not be heretical; not all works of heretics have been forbidden; it had never been forbidden to read Tertullian and Origen." "But," I continued, "what is to be said of the admitted sanctity of so many Latins? of their comparative superiority in various points to you? And what a difficulty, what an absurdity it is to suppose that one-half of the Church, with the chief see, has fallen away into absolute heresy, and then has gone on extending itself and producing more fruits than that Eastern half which has remained orthodox!"

He answered, "I must allow to Rome the credit of activity; but by that rule your English and Scotch Dissenters (of whom alone we know anything) beat you out and out; for they are in India, America, the Levant, Syria, and Abyssinia, everywhere, and they convert numbers." I replied, "They are active enough no doubt; but, as for their converting numbers, they have not done that as yet."

He continued, "Besides, we do not say that the Latins are in all respects heretics, only in some points, as on the Procession, and in giving only half the Sacrament of Holy Communion to the laity. And, if we were to admit any others to be part of the true Church besides ourselves, it would certainly be rather the Roman Church than yours; for there is comparatively but a slight difference between us and them." I said, "We by no means deny them either, any more than we

deny you, in their legitimate dioceses. "But," he replied, "you manifestly fell away from them, and it is of no avail now to try to explain things away, and to change all our convictions as to your past history."

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

M. Fortunatoff on Transubstantiation.

DECEMBER 12 [o.s.].—Fortunatoff praised much the Abbé Bautain's last book on Philosophy, and the movement in France in favour of a return to religion; he had interchanged a letter with him. When I had quoted Platon as allowing that distinction, which F. and others will not hear of, between the two principal Sacraments and the other five, he said that Orders and Absolution were just as necessary as Baptism. I answered, "Each in its way; for some, and in certain secondary respects; even more necessary, if you please, in those respects in which they are needed; but birth and food are for life the principal things." In fact Platon calls matrimony a ceremony or rite; and I had read already to F. from Mr. Palmer's Treatise on the Church, a passage of Platon's letter to M. Dutens, "Vocem quidem Transubstantionis admittit Ecclesia nostra Orientalis, non tamen carnalem et naturalem, sed mysticam et spiritualem" (Theophanes is even

bitter and contemptuous in rejecting what the Papists have invented). "Now," I said, "no one of you will go so far as to say that Platon was a heretic." "No," he answered, "certainly not. Nevertheless, the opinion of our Church is nearer to that of Rome." "I do not deny," I answered, "that the prevailing opinion is, as you say, nearer to that of Rome (no wonder, when you have been consciously or unconsciously borrowing from Rome in so many things, as the very word *transubstantiation*, which seems to draw after it its received Roman definition); but I only say that this question is not so definitely shut up with you as with the Papists, and that a man may hold, express, and even publish as the doctrine of the Russian Church, a doctrine identical with ours, and may distinctly deny the Roman doctrine without being called a heretic for it." "Yes," he said, "but I should like you to see what Demetrius of Rostoff writes on that subject. Theophanes was not quite orthodox, but inclined towards Lutheranism on some points; and there are traditions and accounts of certain miraculous appearances presented to doubting priests, which to me seem irreconcilable with your doctrine. And, if I am to believe that it is really Christ's body, what else can I say but this?—that I see the appearance of bread, but believe that it is not bread but His body." "That," I said, "you may well say, and yet be quite orthodox."

"But how then," he objected, "can I say also that the substance of the bread remains?" "Both Christ and His Apostles," I said, "and all the Fathers, and the Church in her formularies, call it bread after consecration." He objected, "No; Christ said 'Hoc'—the neuter, not 'Hic panis;' and neither the Fathers nor the Church ever call it bread after the consecration, but 'gifts,' 'mysteries,' but I am afraid to speak too confidently either for myself or for the Church on such a point, and I suppose that Koutnevich also would not say much about such scholastic questions."

Later in the day, M. Fortunatoff, who is now instructing a Lutheran, and will probably reconcile him next Sunday, asked me, "Why are you going to translate the Catechism (the "Orthodox Confession") of Peter Mogila, the importance of which is merely historical? You should rather translate courses of theology, as those of Ternovsky, Platon, &c." "Why," I replied, "I read to you this morning from Platon a passage, which, if you rightly represent your Church, is heretical." He said, "I will not venture to say anything more on that subject, except this: that I believe that when I receive the Holy Mysteries, I receive the very Body of Christ, though my eyes see bread." "Yes," I answered, "that is quite right, we can have no difference about that."

CHAPTER LXXIX.

Various Notabilities at the Synod House.

LAST year, F. says, a monk, after being made an Archimandrite, and six of the cleverest students from the Spiritual Academy, went to Pekin to live there ten years, and to learn the Chinese language. (N.B.—Some year later than 1850 this Archimandrite came to me at Oxford, being then attached as interpreter to Admiral Pontiatine's mission to Japan.)

December 13 [o.s.].—At the Synod, Mr. Skreepitsin presented me to the Archpriest Bajanoff, late preceptor to the Grand Duke Alexander, as well as Imperial Confessor. I also met Mr. Serbinovich, private Secretary to Count Pratasoff, the priest Raichovsky, Admiral Ricard, and others. One of them presented me to the President of the Academy of Sciences, who said he would show me the oldest MS. of the Scriptures which they have in Russia, being of the tenth or eleventh century.

Mr. Skreepitsin said, "Our Church has, and we

have, one good point; that is its *tolerance.* We are not like Rome, which anathematizes all others; we have our own rite, but can be at peace with others, for they are all essentially one. The same Christ is worshipped by us all, and all things else are matters of comparative indifference." I replied, "I cannot admit two or more religions, as you seem to do, but either we are of the same religion, or one of us is a heretic. There is one faith, one Church, one baptism, &c."

CHAPTER LXXX.

Conversations with the Princess Dolgorouky.

DECEMBER 14 [o.s.].—Met at the Millionnaia the Archpriest Kutnevich, who spoke again in praise of Bishop Andrewes's Devotions. He took me to the house of Princess Dolgorouky, whose husband is Governor of Vilna. She was interested, she said, to hear of the intention which brought me to Russia, because "we are so used to have our Church and religion despised by those who know nothing about it." She spoke English perfectly. She complained of the bigotry of the Catholics: "They think it a sin to enter a Greek church." I suggested that the Catholics are quite right in acting so, if they *are* Catholics, if that is their distinguishing title.

Presently she said, "You are High Church, but you have not in your Church the 'Mass'? the 'Liturgy'?" "Certainly we have it," I answered. "But it is not always said there," she replied; "this seems to me the great difference between our worship

and that of the Protestants. I have often been to hear the prayers, hymns, and sermons of the Lutherans, but I never felt there as if I had been in Church; on the contrary, the whole outward worship irresistibly impresses me with a sense of the depth and holiness of the mystery. In it, both in the words and the ceremonies, the whole incarnation and life and passion of Christ, our redemption, and the application of it to our souls, are shadowed forth, and pleaded and obtained. I know you have the Communion, which is contained in the Mass, but that is a separate thing; and it is even opposed (popularly) to the Mass. The German Lutherans also have that; but it is stripped of all that deep worship which we have in our Church, even when the people do not communicate, and which the Latins have also."

After some farther conversation, she said, "I am sorry, however, that you should think so harshly of all other Communities, as of the German Lutherans. I have known so many excellent people among them. I love charity and tolerance, and dislike very much the intolerance and sweeping condemnations of the Catholics." I had been telling her that I first went abroad regarding all Lutherans and Calvinists of the Continent as brethren, though lacking some things, and Papists as all but idolators, but had soon discovered that the Lutherans and Calvinists are the Dis-

senters of the Continent, while as regards the Papists, in spite of very strong prejudices against them, I had been forced to feel that there was a deep unity of principles between us. She dwelt much on the denial of the cup to the laity, and said, "If anything could drive the people to rebellion it would be that."

Some days after I visited the Princess again, who said, "You surprise me. In talking to you I do not feel as if I were talking to a Protestant, and yet I suppose I must call the Anglican Church Protestant. What strikes me is the vast diversity of opinions, and upon the most important points, which I find within the English Church and in English authors. I have read," she continued, "many English books"—and she spoke of Tillotson, Hannah Moore, Bishop Horne, &c., &c.—"and my brother studied at Edinburgh, and has an excellent English library. I like much the pious and practical spirit of many of those English books, though of course I do not agree with the Methodistical, or Calvinistic, or Protestant doctrines contained in them, and, when I am preparing to communicate, I put them aside, and then read such as treat of the doctrines we believe. At such times I would rather read Catholic books, as I do not find in them any difference to signify, but I cannot endure their uncharitable spirit. I, for my part, would gladly pray in their churches, but they think it a sin to come into ours."

She was speaking especially of Vilna, where she has some Polish friends. They think all the followers of the Greek rite to be in the way of damnation. I said, "They are not to be blamed as uncharitable, because they have a horror of heresy and schism. Though they be wrong in their definition of the Church, that it is rather the fault of the Popes in past times than of individuals under authority now. Your own forms for receiving proselytes set up for you just as exclusive a definition as that of the Latins, only you are inconsistent. You all of you disbelieve the sense of your own books and formularies, and your danger lies in this, that, when your common sense has carried you out of the exclusive Orthodox-catholic Eastern definition of the Church, you know not where to stop, and so your practical disallowance of the formal pretensions of your own Church degenerates into liberalism and indifference. Here, for instance, I have not met with a single person who has shown solicitude to bring me to the orthodox communion for the salvation of my soul, though were I, thus unbefriended, to come myself to be reconciled, God would be thanked 'for having put it into my heart to flee, as from the flood into the ark, from heresy and the way of damnation into the true Eastern Church, out of which no one can possibly be saved.' Is this charity? I call it rather cruelty."

She seemed not to know anything about those

passages in the formularies which I quoted; nor to know how far they were of authority. She said, "Our Saviour distinctly rebuked such a spirit in the Jews towards the Samaritans, and turned the Samaritan woman's attention away from such former disputes to 'spirit and truth.'" On the contrary, I pointed out how He laid down to her dogmatically, "Ye worship, ye know not what; we know what we worship; salvation is of the Jews." So also the Church says now, to the Protestants, "Ye worship ye know not what, for salvation is of the Church." She admitted it, and said, smiling, "I wonder what my son's preceptor, an excellent Evangelico-Reformed Lutheran would say if he heard you accuse me so strongly of Protestantism. I cannot endure that illiberality. I think one must admit the difference between those who believe in Christ and wish to obey Him, and those who do not. If a man has this requisite with honesty of purpose, though he be out of the pale, one must feel and admit that he is a Christian, and in the way of salvation."

I asked, "When once you begin, where can you stop?" She answered, "Some time ago I wished to engage a preceptor for my son. A German presented himself. I asked, 'Are you a Christian?' He was confused, and hesitated; then he said, 'I have not made up my mind, I have not quite formed my

opinions.' So I tried again, and at last got a satisfactory answer." "Satisfactory," I said; "had he been baptized?" "I took that for granted." "Therefore you must have thought it necessary." "Yes, certainly." "Did he believe in the Holy Trinity? in the Incarnation?" "Certainly, for I asked him if he was a Christian." "Perhaps he was an unbaptized Unitarian, for such there are in America. It is by no means certain that he would understand your questions in your sense." Just then the Hebrew Professor, a converted Rabbi, came in, and the Princess appealed to him; and he settled the point at once in her favour, saying, "If you believe that Jesus is the Christ, and confess it with your mouth, you are in the way of salvation; this is the doctrine of our Church."

CHAPTER LXXXI.

Conversations with M. Mouravieff, the Bishop Veniáminoff, and M. Serbinovich.

THE same day I saw M. Mouravieff, and lent him a little book, published at Rome, in which an attempt is made to prove that the Russian Church had remained in communion with Rome long after the time of Cerularius; alleging, among other things, in proof of this, the reception in Russia of the festival of the translation of St. Nicholas to Bari, a festival which the Greek Church ignores. He said, "All the communications and intercommunions stated to have taken place between the Russian Church and the Roman, after the breach with Constantinople, are inventions and misrepresentations of the Uniats." He put aside all attempts to defend or excuse the Anglican Church for its actual separation from Rome, saying, "The Pope had acquired a right of jurisdiction. The Latin Church had taken that Gothic form and constitution, and your separation was made by secular violence. If

I had been an Englishman then, I should have adhered to the Pope." Presently, however, he admitted that the Pope's supremacy was not necessary or right in itself.

He then returned to his constant topic, of the utter uncertainty and mutual contradiction of all accounts of Anglican doctrine. From him I went to visit the new Bishop of the Aleoutines, now called Innokenti, who told me that they now have four or five churches built in those islands.

At night I went to Count Pratasoff's private secretary. As to my wish to communicate, he said, "As a layman, I cannot say much about it. We are obliged to be extremely cautious, and must wait for God's good time for unity. At present we can only have unity of good will and sympathy. It would be impossible to allow your demand without setting a precedent; and anything new might cause mischief. We must take care not to make more Raskolniks than there are already. For instance, if I were to say what you said just now, that the *Icons*, approved by the Second Nicene Council, were not only pictures, such as we have now, but statues also; that is to say, images of any kind, I should be a kind of heretic for many. Therefore we must wait till those prejudices of ignorance are removed by education. Besides, the Greek Churches must be treated by us with great

respect, and the Russian Synod could not well do anything alone."

He told me that he was educated in the Jesuit College, at Polotsk, where they made much of Aristotle. We then conversed about the method of study pursued at Oxford, by reading well-chosen books, rather than by hearing Professorial lectures; and our consequent freedom from the German plague. He said, "We, on the other hand, read the German systems of philosophy, and especially courses, or views, of the history of different systems, if not to learn truth, yet to correct error." He asked about the Scotch writers. I replied, "They and the Germans, or the Scotch at any rate, are the great authorities of our enemies, the Whigs and Radicals." He said, "You must be reckoned obscurantists, if you have such ideas." I replied, "So we are." He laughed, and said, "We have but little acquaintance with English books." He showed me in a French paper, certain statements about the progress of Catholicism in England, where there are now 500 chapels, and there was an account of Mr. Spencer's visit to France, and of a speech made by him at a dinner, &c. And he asked whether these statements were true. Also he showed me another place, in the same French paper, in which it was said that Dr. Hampden had been censured by the University of Oxford, for having in his writings shown a tendency

to Catholicism; and that, at the request of the University, the Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury, had remonstrated against his appointment; and he asked whether all this was so?

He said that he supposed that I had all the answer I expected to my application for Communion; and seemed surprised when I replied that I wished to have a formal answer from the local ecclesiastical authority, since in strict propriety I had nothing to do in spiritual matters with the Civil Government; but only as I cannot stay here without its permission, it is right to show its representatives all deference. "But," he said, "that will be a difficulty. It would be a long affair: for a priest would have to go to the bishop, the bishop to the Synod; and then there might be a long and difficult question, if they entered into it, to determine what is a confession of the essential faith (which is so perplexed and complicated by the mixture of considerations of local or universal authority, and of ecclesiastical decisions, with the assumption of some one or other definition of the Church itself). Then there would be the question, whether you rightly represented the doctrine of the Church from which you come, into Russia: for that also is a difficulty, to treat of such matters with an individual."

He did not seem to know that certain formularies now in use asserted so strongly the *Eastern*-Catholic

definition of the Church, but said that "in fact the violence of Rome drove the Eastern Church into similar violence, which was in a manner necessary for self-protection. But now that is much mitigated on our side." N.B.—But the excommunications and anathemas came first from Photius and from Cerularius, not from Rome.

CHAPTER LXXXII.

The Count suggests, that, since the Russian Church cannot go to Mr. Palmer, he should go to the Russian Church.

DECEMBER 27 [o.s.].—At the house of the Riumines Miss S. said that she had been reading some of Mr. [Isaac] Taylor's writings against the "Tracts for the Times," and wished to see the Tracts themselves. As she was talking about the Invocation of Saints, and supernatural healings sought and obtained through sacred images, and wished to know my opinion, I told her that once I was talking to a learned old man at home on the subject, and reminded him of the shadow of Peter, and the handkerchiefs which had touched St. Paul, and said that an invocation was at least as good as a shadow. He replied that "Scripture did not say, sir, that the good men acted rightly." Such an answer settled the question, certainly, and I could not help laughing; then he laughed too, feeling how much he had gone too far.

Having gone across to the Millionnaia, I found with Mde. Potemkin the son of the French Ambassador, M. de Barrante. He asked me questions about the new Oxford School, and seemed quite to understand that the whole movement had been caused by the political changes of 1828 and 1829 (the admission of the Protestant Dissenters and the Irish Papists to a share of the imperial power). He admitted that there had been a very overbearing and violent spirit at the time of the Reformation; and he regretted the Ultramontane Bull of Pope Pius V. against Elizabeth. He spoke of the inconceivable variety of religious opinions and tendencies in England in the churches of the Establishment. "Now," he said, "your bishops have been noticing in their charges the 'Tracts for the Times,' some more or less favourably, others quite the contrary, as, for instance, the Bishop of Chester, who thinks the devil is at the bottom of them."

December 28 [o.s.].—Went to Count Pratasoff with respect to my application for Communion; he said that Dr. Routh's Letter had been laid before the Synod. He added, "I tell you frankly we must be very cautious. To admit the claim of any one person, as of you, would be the same thing as to offer union to all the West, on the terms of agreement in essentials, in spite of disagreements in non-essentials." I said, "I wished, whenever I might, to make my demand ecclesiastically,

and so to get an ecclesiastical answer." He said, "Go and talk to the Metropolitan of Moscow; you have seen him as yet only once, and then I went with you formally and officially, as the Emperor's representative. Now you can go and visit him, as he is better again, and see what he says, and then come and see me again." I said, "The simplest course for me is to say, If I am a Catholic, give me Communion; if I am a heretic, instruct and convert me. If you believe your own exclusive definition of the Church, and have only a spark of charity, you ought to send a mission to England to convert us." He said, "We would only send missions to places where there is a chance of success; and," he added, laughing, "my best hope is for *you*, that we must convert *you*, and make you a bishop, as we made that Missionary bishop for the Aleoutines when you were present the other day, and send you back so." I said, "I have to meet a previous question before I answer you here, viz., Is not the Anglican establishment part of the Catholic Church? for, if I am a Catholic already, it would be a bad conversion to become Eastern instead of ecumenical, particular instead of universal; and if my only crime is coming from a Western diocese, with which you have never had any formal quarrel, then with what plausibility could I recommend or start a fresh schism merely to call what is Western Eastern? If I am not a Catholic, convert me to the

Catholic Church as quickly as you can ; I desire nothing better." He said, "We are now in correspondence with a French priest" (whose name he mentioned) "who wants to become a member of our religion. The difficulty is, What Mass is he to say? and it is probable that we shall not be able to put off long the question whether we are to allow of the Latin Mass being said in our Communion."

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

Princess Eudoxia Galitsin about Russian Dissenters.

JANUARY 1 [o.s. 13 N.S.], 1841.—Since 1700 this day has been kept as beginning the Civil New Year.

On January 4 [o.s. 16 N.S.] dined with Prince Michael, and went with him afterwards to his aunt, the Princess Eudoxia. She asked, "How can you pretend that your religion is the same as ours when you have not the same sacraments or altars in your churches? You came out of the Catholic Church at the Reformation." When I objected to her way of speaking, she said, "The English themselves speak as I was speaking." "That," I replied, "is nothing to me. But if the Church of England were to adopt that language of the world, then I should have to look out for the old, true, and Catholic Church, wherever it is nearest, and might soon find my way to Rome." She objected: "But why do not your bishops speak out and teach the people their true

doctrine? Ah! it would be a great thing if you could introduce the Liturgy into your Church, instead of having only Preaching." I retorted on her, and blamed her for calling all Latins indiscriminately Catholics. She laughed, and confessed that this was wrong. "But," she said, "we do not absolutely impute heresy to those Churches, but think our own the most perfect." And she mentioned points on which the Latins were in error, or at a disadvantage. "They have interpolated the Creed of the Councils; they have changed the form of administering Baptism; they have disjoined from Baptism, Confirmation or Chrism, and Holy Communion too, and made the fitness of the soul to receive them to depend upon a certain development of the intellect. Then, again, they have their fire of Purgatory, whereas we think that there is much which even the Church must confess herself not to know here as not having been revealed, and that a limit is to be set in defining in such things."

She admitted a discrepancy between the claims of their Church books and the opinion practically held by all of them; that the life of the Latin Church cannot be denied without a flagrant disregard of common sense; and that this discrepancy causes a certain weakness. She admitted, also, that in their higher classes there is want of that zeal which the Latins have, and that a social attraction would rather draw one over from the Greek

Church to the Latin, though that she knew this would be only weakness. "The people," she said, "are the real strength of our Churches." She talked of some priest who had suffered much persecution for his Orthodoxy, and of the spirit still living in the clergy, observing, "How bravely Bishop M. of M. behaved, who was sent to Siberia for opposing the divorce of the Grand Duke Constantine Paulovich! With what joy he took it! And, again, that other Bishop N. of N., who was shut up in a madhouse for speaking strongly to the Governor of the province. You remember these things," she said, addressing the Prince.

She also spoke of the schismatics called Staro-obratsi, and some of them who have been reconciled with permission to retain their peculiarities, and who are called Edinoviertsi; of the severity of their fasts; of their long services and their unwearied devotion. "Their churches," she said, "are always thronged; they admit no nobles, nor any others without beards; so neither you nor he can go to their worship; and they have the old books; they have never recognized the changes made by Peter I., but still demand that there should again be a Patriarch." She seemed to have much the same ideas herself; and she said, after asking some questions about our Church-government, "Ah! if you could but make for yourself a Patriarch, your work would be done!" They say that those

reconciled Staro-obratsi have also much more efficient discipline; that many of them know all the Psalter by heart, and have a very extensive knowledge both of the Scriptures generally, and of the services of the Church. They use not five prosphoræ (oblations) in their liturgy, but seven. She complained of scandal arising from the present state of things, when the Church is governed by a layman, Count Pratasoff, who (respectable as he may be) dances the Mazurka, "'C'est un très galant homme, il danse très bien.' That is the kind of remark made in the saloons about him." She spoke of a poor nun, a peasant girl aged twenty-two—(Prince Michael, interrupting her, asked, "How could she be a nun at that age? She must be thirty-five to be a nun")—coming from the country and telling the Emperor that she must talk to him for two hours. He objected: "But perhaps I cannot stay to hear you so long, I have a great deal to do." She said that was his affair. He took out his watch, and she talked with great eloquence to him for two hours—about his duties, the duties of the clergy, and "the new philosophy."

She told the Hereditary Grand Duke that he had seen her in a dream, on such a day, which he absolutely denied. But on referring to his journal he confessed that it was true. She, the Princess Eudoxia, spoke of a miracle in a convent, which was reported and described at length to herself by the Abbess, who had

witnessed it. A nun having died there with the reputation of sanctity, there was brought to the convent a young woman who had entirely lost the use of one leg. It was withered, and seemed to be only skin and bone. They placed her on what had been the bed of that holy nun; and on one of the days on which they sang for the departed, she, having a strong faith that something of the sort would take place, felt a revolution in her withered limb, and cried out to them: and presently she got up and walked, and then was frightened at herself. The Abbess would not believe it when she was told, but thought they were jesting with her, till she saw it with her own eyes. The wonder was, she said, where the flesh could have come from in so short a time. She spoke also of a certain Saint Macarius, whose canonization is now in progress. That nun has not yet been canonized.

Then she spoke of the Protestants; she said that they "denied the *divinity* of the Blessed Virgin." The Prince would have made her change this expression, but she would not be corrected by him. In fact, in the singings of the Church they do say to the Blessed Virgin, "Leave us not to *human* protection." The Prince said to me afterwards, "You can easily see that if my aunt, a clever and pious woman, fond of reading, and of the highest rank, could so let fall from her lips what, if her words were taken strictly, would be heresy,

there may be much misconception and abuse among the common people. Again, on another occasion as they were singing, "O most holy Mother of God, save us!" he whispered to me, "There is something which may be taken in a bad sense or in a good. But though there may be things of this kind, there would yet be no solid ground for a Russian on that account to renounce his Church for yours." I said, "Certainly not. The only question about such things, as between our Church and the Greek, is one of practical discretion." He replied, "But people may say that you are not a fair representative of the English Church. As when I asked my banker (a Scotchman), an excellent fellow, about you, he replied, 'Oh! he is not of *our* religion; he is a member of some new sect,' I know not what he called it."

The Prince told me that he and some others had addressed a memorial to the Emperor this year on Christmas Day (or the New Year?) representing that the time was come, and the nation looked to its Orthodox Emperor to take the lead in proposing to the other Christian Powers, and in requiring of Turkey that the Holy City of Jerusalem, at least, should be placed under the protection of Christendom. Count Pratasoff has told him that he had received at the same time similar petitions from all parts of the empire, and in particular one from the Bishop of Voronege.

CHAPTER LXXXIV.

The Metropolitan Philaret's definitive judgment on the XXXIX. Articles.

JANUARY 20 [N.S.].—At seven p.m. went with M. Mouravieff to the Metropolitan of Moscow, who said, "How happy is our Church which has preserved unaltered the Liturgies of St. Basil and St. John Chrysostom! How do you like them? Your Church could not adopt one of them consistently with these XXXIX. Articles." I had lent him them in Welshman's Latin edition; there he had been reading them, and now proceeded to criticize their doctrine point by point. "I have read your Latin Introduction," he said, "and I think it much more orthodox, and much more conformable to the doctrine and spirit of the Eastern Church, than are the Articles themselves of which it treats. There are in them many erroneous propositions, such as could not be allowed with us." I replied, "Our Church certainly must be presumed to have meant their Articles to be taken and interpreted in a Catholic and orthodox sense, seeing that the same

Synod which accepted and imposed them on the clergy imposed also the following Canon: 'Preachers should be careful that they should never preach aught in a sermon to be religiously believed by the people, except what is conformable to the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and which the Catholic Fathers and Ancient Bishops have thence collected.'"

They both laughed; and the Metropolitan said, "All I can say then, is, that this Canon of theirs is much better than their Articles, and ought to be printed together with them. Unity, indeed, is very desirable, but, with such obstacles in the way, extremely difficult to attain."

Also he said, "You are the excellent defender of a bad cause."

He also observed, "It astonishes me to think that you should have been all so entirely occupied with your own disputes in the West, as to take no notice of that most grave question, which, more than anything else, has divided the Western from the Eastern Church, the question of the Procession. On that point the Testimony of the Fathers is clear."

M. Mouravieff bade me write my demand of communion in a Letter to the Metropolitan; but he said, "To an individual the Church can concede nothing; and no one can communicate except with an unconditional acceptance of all that she teaches and practises."

CHAPTER LXXXV.

The Princess Dolgorouky on the Russian Peasantry.

JANUARY 23 [N.S.]—Dined with Prince and Princess Dolgorouky. The Princess desired to improve education on her estates: she had had great difficulty in setting up a school. First, the priest would not undertake it himself, nor let the younger priest. "Well," she said, "but let the diachok teach the school; only do you give them religious instruction when you can." The priest said it was impossible for him to go to the diachok's house. "Well, then," she said, "he shall teach them in a room in my house." To that he objected—that it was contrary to a rule laid down by the Synod, which prohibited the taking of unfit persons as teachers in private houses. She at length applied to the bishop, who scolded the priest:—and then the priest became very obedient, and the school was opened with a special Liturgy, &c. But the parents were in a terrible way, and the mothers especially were all crying for a week, and every boy and

girl in the village were declared—one to be ill in one way, and one in another; one had a headache, another had bad eyes; and a third a bad leg—and so on. And they went to the priest himself to plead for them. The Princess was walking in her garden with an old man behind her, who worked there; and as he was the starost, or head-man of the village, she told him to set a good example, and send his boy regularly to school, and she was sure he would not repent of it—and she would be much pleased. He scratched his head for some time, and at last said that if she would allow him, he wished to say a word about that:—"They did not like," he said, "to send their sons to the priest, as he would make workmen of them, as he had done with some pupils he had had from the town, setting them to work in his garden, or on his land." And the priest, among other objections, had in truth started this,—that he could teach them nothing unless he had them the *whole day*, while the parents, on the other hand, wanted their work for themselves.

I have heard a frightful account of the ignorance of the peasantry, and that the women are even worse than the men. "They know," this lady said, "the Lord's Prayer generally, but I doubt if they could repeat the Creed: they might know some of it: certainly they could not repeat the Ten Commandments." "They ought," I said, "to be catechized." "Yes," she replied, "but they are not, and even when they are, the priest uses

language which is above them. If I ask them whether they understand at church, or what, and how much they understand, they wonder at the question, and say, 'How should we understand, as we cannot read?' And if you talk to the priest of instructing them, he says, 'How is it possible to instruct people who have never even been taught to read?'" Thus there are women who really do not know who our Lord is, or what He did for us; so that the brutalized state of the peasantry cannot be believed by those who have not had personal knowledge of it. On the other hand, they have no end of schismatics (Raskolniki). "There is," she said, "a craving among the people for religion (*un besoin religieux*). The Church does not satisfy it, so they go off to the sectaries, who do more to satisfy it than the Church."

"We had," she said, "a man-servant in the country, a man whom we employed in all sorts of ways, who took to reading the Scriptures aloud all night in his room, so that the other servants complained of it: the children could not sleep. This seemed strange; but after some time we overheard him speaking to a fellow-servant about the Scriptures being the word of God, with a vehemence and fervour which showed him to be under a strong religious excitement. We sent him for several Sundays to the priest, who was not a bad one, and who talked to him well enough, seeing that he needed looking after. On our return, after an absence of some months, he ran away. He was for-

given, but presently he ran away again. He was forgiven again, but on condition that he promised not to do so again, else, we said, we must give him up to be made a common soldier. He replied, 'I wish to save my soul.' 'But cannot you save your soul,' I asked, 'by doing your duty in my service?' 'No,' he said, 'it is absolutely necessary for me to retire into the solitude of the forest, and I will give no promise.' 'In that case,' I replied, 'it is absolutely necessary for me to take severe measures with you.' 'So much the better for me,' he said, 'because I shall then be suffering for the truth.'"

Some time before I went to live with Fortunatoff, when Count Pratasoff and M. Mouravieff were recommending me to learn Slavonic and Russ in some other way than by living with ecclesiastics, they said, "Why do you not take a Russian servant, and talk to him?" A colonel with whom I chanced to make acquaintance offered me one of his serfs, a young man, who, he said, was a great chatterer (*très babillard*), if I would engage him as a servant; and I did, but I soon had enough of him. The first question was: what clothes was he to wear? For the night or two that he was with me, he slept outside my door in the English lodging-house on the floor, in his sheepskin. He was very dirty, and seemed quite stupid; anything but a chatterer. I tried once to find out how he would answer the simplest religious ques-

tions. I asked him whether there was one God or many? He said, "One God (*Edeen Bogh*)." "But," I said, "in God there are more Persons than one." "Yes," he said. "How many?" He did not answer, and I answered for him: "There are three Persons, are there not?" "Yes," he said, "Three Persons." "What are they?" Scratching his head, as if reflecting, he replied, "God the Father, Jesus Christ—and" —after a pause, "the Most Holy Mother of God." Clearly he had not been used to be catechized, or to answer questions.

The Princess Dolgorouky said that the Church services, partly from the antiquity of the language, partly from the manner in which they are read and sung, are scarcely at all intelligible to the people. (This I really cannot believe.) "I read," she said, "every Sunday the Epistle and Gospel beforehand with my children, and explain it; and then they can follow it in the church. But, if I omit this, they cannot. And so the children of the school can give some account of what they hear at church, but the others can give none; and now some of those who have left the school, I hear, meet together at nights, and read good books." She said also: "I do not know that the people would understand the Church services much better, even if they were in the modern Russ, unless their minds were cultivated by being taught to read."

CHAPTER LXXXVI.

Whether Nationality is the religious need of Russia.

JANUARY 24 [N.S.].—At 10 a.m., the Liturgy, and a *Moleben* after it, in the Millionnaia,—it being Mde. de Potemkin's name-day. The holy doors stood open at the time that the *moleben* was singing; afterwards, when they kissed the cross, in the hand of the Archimandrite, he, seeing that I did not approach, himself stepped forward, and presented it to me to kiss. Afterwards there was a breakfast in a large room adjoining, at which were many more guests than places. Prince Meshchersky, once Ober-Prokuror, told me that it is his sister-in-law who employs the retired Bishop of Archangel, Aaron, to translate English books.

One of the ladies present, on my speaking of the existing varieties of opinion, and having said that they seem sometimes to be overborne by the forces with which the Church of Rome urges the cause of unity, and the greater probability, if one must absolutely choose, as between two, that unity is right, replied,

"We have not a sufficiently strong sense of nationality." I replied, "Nationality in religion has been our ruin; it has made us all but apostatize from the true faith, and we in England are struggling now to crawl out of that pit into which I hope you may never fall deeper than you have fallen already." But she thought the only mischief among them was a foolish desire to imitate foreigners, which Peter the Great left as a legacy to his empire.

CHAPTER LXXXVII.

Mr. Palmer falls ill.

ON January 31 [N.S.], after Liturgy and a funeral, I went in a sledge to the English lodging-house, and was detained there with gout, till Tuesday, March 30 [N.S.], when I returned to M. Fortunatoff. All February [N.S.], I was confined to the house; during March I went out more or less.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

Count Capo d'Istria.

MARCH 21 [N.S.].—Again confined to my room. Prince Michael tells me he met last night Count Capo d'Istria, who had been present also with us in the Millionnaia on the evening of Tuesday last. He is brother of the Greek President, who was assassinated. He told the Prince I must be a spy, as my purpose of studying the Slavonic Church books, which I could study in the original Greek at Oxford, was manifestly only a clumsy pretext. "He, like the rest of the Greeks," Prince M. said, "shows a fanatical violence against the Latins, which we Russians have not."

CHAPTER LXXXIX.

Mr. Palmer's Appeal to the Metropolitan of Moscow.

ON this day, March 21, before I was taken ill again, I had gone with M. Mouravieff to the residence of the Metropolitan of Moscow, and delivered to him my letter, in which I referred to Dr. Routh's letter, which I understood had been put before the Synod; and, as I had received no answer to the desire of communion expressed in these, and was now going into the Metropolitan's diocese, and he as a member of the Synod had seen Dr. Routh's letter, I thought proper to make my application specially to him. The Metropolitan said that he would reply to my letter in writing, but added, as did also M. Mouravieff, that the nature of his reply must be already pretty well known to me by our previous conversations. M. Mouravieff said that the Churches in East and West were separate, that union could be attempted only by Synods, that it was impossible to tell what our doctrine really was, that some indeed might think like me, others just

the contrary; that if they accepted my statements without proof and with all appearances against me, and with letters only from a priest or Archimandrite, and after the separation of so many centuries, it would cause enormous scandal in both communions, that I should be disowned and regarded as a renegade and apostate from the Reformed Religion, no less than they traitors to Orthodoxy by all the members of the Russian Church; and that, as for the Metropolitan, if he were as Bishop to admit me, he would have to defend his own act in the Synod on no better authority than my word.

Then the Metropolitan himself, having looked over the greater part of my letter, observed that it was no doubt true, and very remarkable, that there has been silence rather than any open rupture between our Churches, but still, he said, our present practice is to admit none to communion who do not accept the whole of the essential faith, and also the discipline and ritual; for they act on the supposition of a real division between the two, and to make a change here was not in his power, but could only be moved in Synods.

CHAPTER XC.

The danger of Liberalism in Religion.

MARCH 23 [N.S.].—Princess Dolgorouky said, "I am going to hear the Moravian Pastor, and I am sure the Archpriest would not disapprove of my doing so." We had a discussion on this point; I thought such liberalism inconsistent with true charity. "On the contrary," she said, "it is the way in which the Catholics carry out such principles as yours that makes me feel angry and irritated (*effarouchée*) against them, and more ready to go and pray in the temples of Lutherans and Calvinists than with them. And in this I am in no danger, for when I have been there, I cannot feel that I have been to church at all." "Your example, however," I said, "may encourage others to do the like, whom it may really harm. The exclusive zeal and charity of the Papists *tells*, and brings converts to what they proclaim as the one true Church, whereas your latitudinarian tolerance will never help to pull any one out of the fire." Just then the Prince came in, and

appealed to the Bible in proof that all are Christians that confess Jesus Christ and follow their consciences. But here the Princess considered him to be going too far.

Calling afterwards on M. Riumine, I found on his table a pile of Quaker Tracts in English, which he charitably distributes to our countrymen in the prisons and elsewhere, and some other books of the Society for the Conversion of the Jews. The Quaker, Mrs. Miller, is employed to keep a large girls' school for the Empress. The Princess had said to me, "You can have no notion of the ignorance of our peasants and of its effects."

CHAPTER XCI.

Baptism of Jewish Children.

MARCH 27 [N.S.].—Went at ten a.m. to the Millionnaia to be present at the Baptism of two Jewish children, brother and sister, the one twelve, the other ten years old. Their parents were dead, but they had an uncle and aunt living at Petersburg, who were Christians. The Emperor offered to be himself their godfather, Mde. Potemkin being godmother, and Prince Alexander Galitzin standing proxy for the Emperor. When I came about a quarter before ten, I was told that the priest was then confessing the children; shortly after, that they were reading the Hours; and then again they had read to them the *pravilo* or canon preparatory for communion. The holy doors were standing open, and six lights on the altar, and one in the middle behind it. On the side at the left hand of it the preparations had been made; a semicircular screen, made of a curtain, had been set up, before it a cask two-thirds filled with water and draped with linen. On

the north side of this cask there were steps, and a carpet; on the south side a *naloi* or stand, with napkins, &c., such as would be wanted.

When we had all gone into the porch, the priest made the children turn their faces to the wall, that is, to the west, and make their renunciation of Judaism, the godparents being one on each side of them; then they had to turn eastward; then to kneel, then to rise. Next the priest made the sign of the cross thrice on the top of the head of each, and, after some other crosses, breathed upon them, as if to expel the evil spirit. Then followed a full confession of faith.

Then followed the office for making them Catechumens, so distinctly pronounced that I could have followed all without book. At the conclusion, the priest gave them the end of his *epitrachelion* (stole) and led them into the church.

Then followed the Baptism, the children between their sponsors within the concave recess of the curtain, the priest between them and the cask or font, and the deacon on the south side. The boy said the whole Creed once and the girl once, and then the whole both together; they said it very well, especially the boy; meanwhile some warm water was put into the font. The order for Baptism followed, lights were put into the hands of the children and sponsors, the water was blessed; the children were anointed with a camel's

hair brush, on head and face, breast and hands, on their feet, their shoes and stockings being taken off. Then the girl and the godmother retired behind the back of the screen; the boy was assisted to undress, ascended the steps, and thence stepped down into the font, standing up to his breast in the water, quite naked, towards the east. A cloth was held between the top of the font and the priest, who, putting his hands under it, plunged the boy's head three times, and, if I mistake not, repeated each time the whole form of words. Then, without any wiping (at least there seemed scarcely time for any), a white gown or robe was put on him, and over it a cloak. The girl was then baptized in like manner, the godfather and the boy and myself retiring behind the back of the screen, and a woman assisting the godmother. Their names were Nicholas Nicolaievich, and Elizabeth Nicolaievna.

After this, both standing in their white robes or *chrysoms*, and with candles in their hands, they were anointed, that is, confirmed, the priest saying at each unction, "The seal of the gift of the Holy Ghost." I think it was after he had chrismed them, that the choir sang a few words which sounded heavenly.

After this the children were taken out, and dressed each in a new suit of clothes, then the Liturgy followed, and the children were communicated.

CHAPTER XCII.

French and British Ambassadors on the Anglican Church.

MARCH 28 [N.S.].—I met at dinner the French Ambassador, who, I was told, had come on purpose to see me. After dinner a Russian nobleman read aloud to the company a French translation of my Letter to the Metropolitan of Moscow. M. de Barante first interrupted him at the mention of "all things contained in the Creed," saying that by these words I intended to elude the Real Presence. My Russian friend answered that I accepted all that was in the Creed, either explicitly or implicitly. M. de Barante denied our belief in it, and a dispute ensued. At last I was called upon to answer, and I quoted Renaudot and Bossuet, in proof that the Anglican Church holds the doctrine. Much more passed of the same kind, during which I noticed that, when the lady of the house asked M. de Barante in what consisted the peculiarity of the English Church? he answered, "Simply in this,—that it has preserved the Hierarchy; in all the rest they are like the other Protestants."

May 2 [N.S.].—A friend told me that, meeting

our Ambassador the other day, at dinner at M. de Barante's, on his saying that he had recently seen me, he had asked his Excellency what he thought of my opinions, and Lord Clanricarde had replied that he had nothing at all to say against them. He was himself a Whig, and, as such, must countenance Puritanism; but, in his own private opinion, he had no liking for it. He saw its errors clearly enough, and its absurd and contemptible fanaticism. It was quite true, "que notre Eglise a été toujours pour le fond Catholique, mais elle a été terriblement defigurée et mutilée." He said, "If you were to read the books of many of our standard divines, you might think there was little or no difference between our Church and your own; so, too, if you looked at our Prayer Books; but, if you were in England, and went into our churches, you would find nothing of the kind. You cannot have an idea how bare and slovenly they are, or how lifeless and naked are the services and ceremonies; so much so, that they have become contemptible in our own eyes." My friend continued, "I asked, 'Why does not the Government attempt to improve things?' To which he replied, 'If we were to show or to encourage any such disposition, we should have an outcry immediately against us for favouring Popery. Puritanism is very strong in England, and even among the clergy.'"

CHAPTER XCIII.

Formal Answer of the Metropolitan of Moscow.

THURSDAY, May 20 [N.S.].—I received from M. Mouravieff the written answer of the Metropolitan of Moscow to my letter.

It was to this effect;—that he who would receive the communion from a diocesan bishop, must submit absolutely and without restriction to all the doctrine, discipline and ritual of the Orthodox (Eastern) Church. But to make union or reconciliation, with any concession or allowance, however small, is beyond the power of a diocesan bishop, and can be done only by Synods. At the same time he returned to me a Latin copy of the XXXIX. Articles, with the corners of the leaves carefully turned down at Articles XIX., XXI., and XXII.

CHAPTER XCIV.

Mr. Palmer leaves Petersburg for Moscow.

MAY 21 [N.S.].—Left Petersburg for Moscow, where I arrived on the 24th [N.S.]. It is a journey of 525[1] English miles; I went by *diligence.* The first day we dined at Tosna, a place fifty-eight versts from Petersburg, arriving there about four o'clock. I observed my companion in the *coupé* asked for meat-soup and meat at table, though it was Friday, without scruple, and the people of the hotel had no fast dinner to give. However, on the appearance of a thunder-storm he crossed himself three times.

There is little to notice on the journey, except the long black-looking villages, which lie along the road at intervals. The houses are made of trunks of trees, roughly squared, and let into each other; plastered within, but not without. The gable of the house

[1] Towards 700 versts, a verst being a little short of three-quarters of an English mile, according to Pinkerton; but Murray says two-thirds, which will make the distance 780 versts.

almost always fronts the road, and the roof, which is of boards and very high, projects some way over the walls, affording a shelter from rain or sun in summer, and shooting off the snow in winter. These houses by no means betoken poverty; on the contrary, they are more substantial, warmer, and larger than any houses of our peasantry in England. Indeed, that sort of poverty which abounds with us cannot be said to exist in Russia. The peasants, whom we suppose to be wretched slaves, answer rather to our small farmers or copyhold tenants, than to day-labourers or paupers. They have all from sixteen to twenty acres of land, with horse and cart, sheep and other live stock, with a long range of outhouses running back behind each cottage for hay, wood, and the lodging of cattle in winter. This they hold, free of other rent, by a service of three days' labour in the week to the lord—a service which is often commuted for an annual money payment. The ends of the houses toward the road are a good deal ornamented, and with their high roofs look not only picturesque but pretty, often having as many as three galleries or balconies of palings across, besides an ornamental board or bar just under the angle of the roof. The woodwork of these palings as well as the projecting edges of the roof and the shutters of the windows which fold back without, is often much indented and cut, so as almost to resemble

a lace pattern. On the other hand, the extent of the outhouses behind, often very roughly put together, and of dead paling between every two houses, all black like the houses themselves from the weather, certainly presents rather a gloomy and squalid aspect, and contrasts strangely with the bright, clean, white-washed walls and green cupolas, domes, and roofs of the church or churches, and with the red-brick and white-wash of the Government Offices, and perhaps of the hotel. The road from Petersburg to Moscow is magnificent in its width and keeping, and in the granite bridges which one passes at different places; but of scattered houses or cross-roads we see absolutely none, except here and there perhaps a mere cart-rut near a village. Our way ran through two uniform lines of forest of birch and pine, through which a wide space has been cut and left bare. This at the time looked wild enough, but on my return from Moscow it was one vast carpet of flowers of the brightest colours.

Early on Saturday, the 22nd, in the grey of the morning, we saw several monasteries along the river Volchoff before we entered Novgorod, in which there are still many churches, though it is no longer populous. The Cathedral of St. Sophia, of which we just caught a glimpse, is the oldest building of the kind yet remaining in a perfect state, and so one of the greatest architectural curiosities in Russia.

As we left the city, we saw again several more monasteries in the distance along the banks of the river, and of the lake Ilmen. From Novgorod there was in the diligence a lad of about thirteen or fourteen years of age, who was returning to the Gymnasium at Moscow. He gave of his provisions to almost every beggar, choosing out the most proper object when there were several, with great care. He also took off his cap and crossed himself thrice whenever we came in sight of a church; whenever it thundered and lightened; and when we first came in sight of the churches of any town or city where there were many.

CHAPTER XCV.

Grand Duke Alexander and his Bride, and the Townspeople and Villagers.

THE Grand Duke Alexander, the heir-apparent, and his bride were travelling to Moscow at the same time with our diligence, and were to join the Emperor at the Peterskoi Palace in the environs, whither he had preceded them a few days before. As they stayed for the night at Novgorod and again at Tver, they passed and repassed us upon the road more than once. The Valdai hills which were passed between Saturday evening and Sunday morning were inconsiderable, but still rising gradually, form some of the highest ground in Russia; rivers, flowing in all directions and to the extremities of the empire, take their rise among them. Vishny Volochok, from the glimpse we had of it about eight o'clock in the morning, seemed to be rising into an important town by help of its canal, a canal which now unites the Baltic with the Caspian. One sign of this, the sprinkling of brick and plaster, red, white, green, and yellow, with

the black wooden houses which still predominated, was sufficiently remarkable. At Torjok, which is celebrated for its manufacture of leather, there is a very respectable inn, and a number of churches, though the town is all of wood. We found the whole population drawn up in front of the hotel, awaiting the arrival of the illustrious travellers; of course they were all in their Sunday dresses; and such dresses as an Englishman was not likely to have before seen.

Some attempt shall be made to describe those of the women. First, shoes of a fanciful shape shining with a good deal of gilding; coloured stockings; a red, blue, yellow or green gown, with a long apron or rather a second gown over it of some equally bright, but different colour. I call it an apron because it seemed to be tied like one by a string round the waist, and to be always open either before or behind though it went all round the body, and reached down to the very broad border (perhaps a foot broad) of the gown. Over or rather above this apron they wore bodices or jackets made very thick, standing off from the body behind, and having capes reaching to the elbows all round of blue, red or yellow or parti-coloured work bordered with gilding. Out from under this bodice or jacket, which seemed made of thick woollen cloth or of cotton-velvet, there appeared puffy white sleeves. On the front of the head and forehead they wore what

looked like crescents of gold or gilding, which gave them the look of having golden foreheads; and over these a silk handkerchief enclosing the hair tightly, and disposed or tied so as to flap in two divisions, something like a hood, upon the shoulders. They have a custom of strapping themselves tightly over the shoulders, which, besides that they are naturally of thick make as well as hard-featured, makes them seem to have very thick double waists, or no waists at all. Many of them had besides exceedingly broad ear-rings in their ears. The common dress of the men and boys was this: first, boots reaching up to the knee, into which were tucked a loose pair of trousers of striped cotton; over that a garment answering to a waistcoat, but more like a shirt without sleeves, of striped cotton of some other colour, blue, or red: then the *shube* (the sheep-skin coat) or caftan (which is a cassock of blue cloth), with a bright red, blue, or yellow cotton sash round the waist.

At Miaidnöe, the next stage from Torjok, while we were at the inn, a courier in a *teleyga*, or cart-basket, with three horses abreast, seated or reclining on a bundle of straw, drove up, and announced to the expectant crowd (who were not quite so gay as at Torjok, the place being much smaller), the approach of the Grand Duke's carriage. They immediately began to strike the bells of the church which was just

opposite; the carriage drove up; the Grand Duke and Duchess alighted at the church; and, on leaving it, left alms for the poor, and so drove off again amid the renewed sounding of the bells. At Tver, which is a city of between twenty and thirty thousand souls, and the seat of an archbishop, they were to stay the night. We entered it some time after them, crossing the Volga, which, even there, is a large navigable river, by a bridge of many barges, about half-past ten o'clock at night; and found the whole place brilliantly illuminated. We stopped for tea on Monday morning at Kleen, only eighty-one versts distant from Moscow; and from that stage there was a visible improvement in the appearance of the country: at least, one not unfrequently saw large plots of cultivated land among the waste on either side of the road; also there was comparatively little wood. Still there was nothing to betoken the neighbourhood of a great capital, till we actually reached the barrier, or till we reached the Peterskoi Palace, which is at a short distance out of the city, on the left hand or north side of the road, a huge mass of dark red brick faced with glaring white, and with domes and roofs of a grass-green. We entered Moscow about six o'clock, p.m., and noticed as we entered many scaffoldings, platforms and rows of seats, which had been erected in the vacant spaces on either side of the way for the accommodation of spectators,

who might wish to see the Emperor with his son and his daughter-in-law make their public entry. Some one observed that the clergy would go out with the Cross, in procession, to meet him, and conduct him to the Cathedral of the Assumption, in the Kremlin.

CHAPTER XCVI.

First View of Moscow.

TUESDAY morning, May 25 [N.S.].—The morning after my arrival I went for the first time down the street called Dmitriefka, to the Kremlin, surveyed its Gothic towers and battlements, which excited my admiration more than any church or other edifice that I had seen, and entered by the northern gate, under the tower of St. Nicholas. This tower the French attempted to blow up, but succeeded only in part; the *Icon* being unharmed, and the glass which covered it remaining unbroken. Then, walking on to the terrace, on the south, I saw all the view across the river, a vast extent of green and red roofs, of white and yellow houses, with an infinity of pinnacles, bulbs, and domes, intermingled with foliage and gardens, and streaked by the serpentine windings of the river.

In the distance in front, scarcely distinguishable over the trees and houses which intervene, was the Donskoi monastery; and to the right of it the Sparrow hills;

while quite on the left to the S.S.E. appeared the huge convent of Simonoff, with its domes, and tower 300 feet high, looking like a little town in itself. The Novaspossky also, with its rival tower, a little more still to the left, was to be seen. Turning round from this view, so as to face the north, and the gate by which I had entered, I see on my left hand, within the Kremlin itself, the Cathedral of the Archangel, founded by the first Grand Prince of Moscow, John Kalita, son of Daniel, A.D. 1333, and containing the tombs of the Grand Princes and Tsars; also the Cathedral of the Annunciation, which was the court church, founded by Basil Dmitrievich, great-grandson of John Kalita, in 1397; and beyond and behind these both, further to the left, the Cathedral of the Assumption, in which are the tombs of the Metropolitans and patriarchs, first founded in 1326 by John Kalita, at the suggestion of Peter the twenty-fifth metropolitan, whom in turn he persuaded to transfer his chair from Vladimir to Moscow. These three churches were all rebuilt in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by John, the third son of Basil the Second. Still further on the left, and now nearly behind me to the west, is the stone staircase built by the patriarch Nicon, and leading to the patriarchal vestry, library, lodgings, and private chapel; and next to this again is the old Tartar palace, and the new palace, now building,

a tasteless erection, with several old churches, which it is pleasant to know are to be preserved.

So much on the left of me; now, as I followed my right-hand view, I saw rising to the height of 200 feet the tower of Ivan Valiki, with its golden ball and cross, with the belfry tower adjoining, the two being connected by a gallery in which there hangs a huge bell of great weight, accompanied by no less than fifty others, tier above tier, of all sizes and tones, the work of Boris Godonnoff in the year 1600. It serves as the belfry for all the Kremlin churches, and indeed, when the great bell sounds, it is the signal for all the church bells of Moscow. At the foot of this tower lies the enormous bell called Tzar Kolokol, cast by the Empress Anne, with the piece broken out of its lip when it fell. It is now set on a stone pedestal, five feet high from the ground. The broken piece seemed about six feet in height, and at least two feet thick at the thickest part. The height of the bell itself seemed to be about twenty feet.

Still turning to the right, I came upon th eChoudoff Monastery, which is at present the official residence of the Metropolitan, who is always Archimandrite of this as well as of the Trinity Lavra of St. Sergius, sixty versts off. Here are preserved the relics of Joannovich Donskoi; and here in 1812 Napoleon's staff was quartered. Beyond is the Church of the Annunciation;

and still to the east, is the Convent of the Ascension, founded in 1389 by the Grand Princess Eudocia, after the death of her husband, into which she herself retired, and in which she died. From that time till the reign of Peter, this church of the Ascension became the burying-place of all the Grand Princesses and Tsaritzars, and their daughters, as the Cathedral of the Archangel was the place of burial for Grand Princes and Tsars, and the Cathedral of the Assumption for the Metropolitans and Patriarchs. Lastly, in the great place, beyond the gates of St. Saviour which lead out of the Kremlin, and under which no one passes without uncovering his head, towers over the battlements of the Kremlin the strange Cathedral of the Protection of our Lady, better known by the name of St. Basil, and built by John IV. as an offering of thanksgiving, in memorial of his conquest of the Tartar city and kingdom of Kazan.

Such was my first view of Moscow and the Kremlin. It is a city of vast extent, the surface broken into a number of undulating hills. The ground-plan somewhat resembles a spider's web, having two masses of building, the Kremlin and the Kitai Gorod (both encircled with walls) in the centre, with a number of main streets running out as radii from them, and intersected at various distances by narrower circular

streets or alleys, as well as by two boulevards, at a distance of a mile, and a mile and a half, from the Kremlin. And lastly, beyond the suburbs, at irregular distances of from one to two miles from the outer boulevard, is a barrier or mound which runs round the whole circumference of the city. The river Moskva, which first enters within this outer barrier from the west, soon takes a sudden turn, and runs out again beyond the barrier to the south-west; and then returns flowing to the N.N.E., and enclosing a long loop or bend till it reaches the bridge at the foot of the Kremlin; then it turns down again, passing another bridge and flowing S.E. and S.W., so as to enclose another loop or tongue of land parallel to the former, but broader.[1] * * *

The city certainly has no great show of antiquity. Most of the buildings are of brick and stucco, the Kremlin and the churches alone remaining as they were before the conflagration consequent on the French invasion. Still, the varied character of the surface especially to the E. and N.E, the great extent of waste ground, enclosed among the buildings and intersected by no fewer than six lesser streams, and comprising even lakes, groves, fields, and gardens, the constant recurrence of dead walls and courts before the houses, joined to the peculiarity of narrow circular alleys, and

[1] Here is a gap in the MSS.

all intermixed with green foliage and innumerable gilt or coloured bulbs, and domes, and towers, produce a *tout-ensemble* highly Oriental and picturesque.

The Kremlin itself in the centre, with the Kitai Gorod on the East of it, is the most picturesque object of all. It is a town in itself, a hill rising steeply from the river, enclosed on its north by a vast *place*, to which the chief streets converge, and where the moat once was, by public walks and gardens. On north, east, south, and west, strong Gothic-looking, crenelated walls surround it, with gates opening into the city on the four sides, each between two massive towers, and there are eight other massive, lofty towers at intervals besides. Especially striking is the view from the south. A passenger who approaches the city sees before him the steep Kremlin hill rising out of the river, with two circles of walls and towers traversing it, and separated by green slopes, and then the hill-top covered with churches, monasteries and palaces, with towers, bulbs, pinnacles, domes, without number, and of every variety of colour; some bright blue with stars of gold, some green, some red, others with stripes of brown, or red, green, yellow together, or mottled with brown, or silvered over; many gilt, and, as it is said, with ducat gold, and each bulb having above it a cross fixed with chains, gilt and flashing in the sun.

CHAPTER XCVII.

The Cathedral of the Assumption.

BUT to return. The chief church within the Kremlin is the Cathedral of the Assumption, and to it I made my way on that Tuesday morning. It presents on the outside the appearance of a solid mass of building surmounted by five great bulbous domes all gilt, that in the centre being larger and higher than the others. The walls above are plain white, only painted under the curves of the roof with figures, and round about and over the archways of the doors and porches. The upper windows, as in all the old churches, are very narrow and long, with rounded tops, and look well enough, but the lower ones have their tops squared. To the summit of the highest cupola is fifty-three archines;[1] the width is thirty-five.

I found the church door open, and went in; and there I saw the great coffins or tombs of the metropolitans and patriarchs, which I have already spoken of, lying upon and above the pavement, nearly all round

[1] [An archine is twenty-eight English inches.]

and against the wall, the feet towards the centre of the church. Each was protected by a light iron railing, on which one might lean over, and read the inscription, fixed on a silver plate, raised aslant over the breast, on the carpet or pall which lies upon the old velvet covering.

In the north-western corner lies the thirty-first of these metropolitans, St. Jonah, who was contemporary with the fall of Constantinople, and was the first in the line of Russian consecrations, and the last who bore the title of Metropolitan of Kieff. There was a sort of recess under an arch about breast high, with a step or two before it, and there was a monk, as if guarding the sacred relics. They were partially uncovered, so that under the gorgeous upper pall I saw a portion of the saint's hand, which at first I did not distinguish from the dark and faded carpet which covered all the rest. The sixth patriarch, Nicon, lies at New Jerusalem.

This cathedral is not large like our western cathedrals, nor like the church of St. Sophia at Constantinople, from which in some respects the Russian churches were imitated. But the five domes are all open to the top, and are supported and divided from each other by four gigantic plain round columns. All looked very dark, and in a manner Egyptian. The *Iconostasis*, which separates the sanctuary from the body of the church is an immense screen covered with five tiers of figures or pictures of saints. The four uppermost of

these are of a very dark brown tinge, only bordered round with gilding; they reach even to the very roof; and three out of the four rows of pictures are of colossal height. But below all these, the fourth and fifth row which reach down to the ground, a depth of about fourteen feet, have their whole surface sheeted with gold, so that only the faces and hands of the figures appear through. The gates in like manner, both the double or royal doors in the centre of the screen before the altar, and the two smaller side doors on the north and south of them, were all sheeted over with gold, the royal doors themselves being of solid silver gilt. The huge columns in the middle of the church were encased in square sheetings and ornaments of gold up to the height of about 14 feet, so as to match with the lower tier of figures on the screen. Also there were huge silver lamps hanging all along the *Iconostasis* across the church; and, below the *solea*, four immense chandeliers of solid silver hanging in the centre of the church; and two standing candelabra perhaps six feet high, with platforms round the central wax light on each for the tapers which the devotion of the people might light there. Nevertheless all this did not overcome the dark shade of the pictures above, and of the upper part of the pillars, and of the walls and roofs, which are painted in the same style, so that not one inch of bare stone or wood is to be seen. There is a

latticed closet with a canopy of old ornamental work near to the northern doors of the church, and to the northern side of the sanctuary, which was for the members of the Tsarish or Imperial family. Against the south central pillar under the dome, and looking towards the *Iconostasis*, there is a very rich and elevated stand and seat for the Patriarch, and against the northern pillar parallel with it a much plainer and humbler one for the Tsar or Emperor with the chair of Vladimir Monomachus.

It is said that when Peter the Great had long kept the Patriarchal see vacant, and had in fact resolved upon the institution of the present Synod in the room of the patriarchate, he was one day reminded of his duty in this Church of the Assumption by Stephen Yavonky, Metropolitan of Riazan, and guardian of the patriarchal see during the vacancy. This prelate, pointing to the patriarchal chair, remarked that "his Majesty might as well have it broken up and removed, if no one were to sit in it;" to which Peter replied, "That chair is not for Stephen to sit on; but neither is it for Peter to break." Thinking of this story, when one day I was revisiting this church, my eye fell upon a man kneeling at the tomb of the Patriarch Philaret Niketich, his hands clasped, his face buried in them, and resting upon the rail which protects the coffin, apparently absorbed in some deep feeling. What

was the thought which the tomb of the old patriarch excited in him? Was it not loyalty to the past elicited by the place in which he was praying? Yes, surely, and my imagination suggested for him such thoughts as these:—the man is praying to God, perhaps for the secular government of his country, that it may repent of having withdrawn itself so far from the advice and blessing of the Church; that it may publicly retract the unhallowed assumptions made by Peter; that it may return from its eager pursuit after the infidel civilization of the West, and replace itself in that attitude of filial affection and reverence towards the hierarchy it once exhibited under the Tsar Michael, the first of the Romanoffs, and son of the great Patriarch Philaret? Or again, may it be that he is confessing and deploring that sinful jealousy which moved the Russian nobility to urge or force their sovereigns in former times to strip the Church of her worldly property, and to break her power, without perceiving that they were thereby destroying that spiritual balance and check which alone secured the Tsar from being a mere despot, or from being a mere representative of base popular appetite or interest, so that the nobles might neither be slaves and tools on the one hand, nor masters of their sovereign under the hypocritical name of his ministers on the other.

CHAPTER XCVIII.

The Patriarchal Hall and Vestry.

MAY 26 [N.S.].—A little after eight a.m. I called on the Protopresbyter of the Assumption Sobor, to whom I had a letter of introduction. He took me from his house, by the stone bridge which divides the Kremlin gardens, to see the churches in the Kremlin. As we were walking, he asked the usual questions: "Of what church are you; is it the Episcopal?" "It does not so call itself." "Is it the Presbyterian?" "No, the Presbyterians are Calvinists." "Then you are Lutheran?" "No, if our Church were Lutheran, she would no longer be Apostolic." "What office have you?" "I am a deacon." "A deacon? then do you believe in the Mystery of Ordination? Certainly, the Lutherans are not Apostolical, for they have only two Mysteries."

By this time we had come into the cathedral; they were finishing the Liturgy, being earlier than usual, seemingly, because they were expecting the Emperor,

with his son and daughter-in-law. Some way behind the altar were three crosses, two small ones of crystal, the centre one of metal, large and very rich, and brought, the Protopope said, from Cherson. He said that in 1812 the French had plundered the churches of nearly all the gold and silver which had not been removed to Troitza; and a great deal of the gold which I saw was new; he then presented me to the Archimandrite, who had joined us, and retired. This ecclesiastic pointed out to me the jewelled crown and other ornaments of the *Icon* of the Blessed Virgin of Vladimir to the left of the royal doors, and said that they were valued at above 10,000*l*. He then showed me the relics of St. Philip [1565], and on being asked whether I might salute them, he hesitated, and said, "I don't know: of what religion are you?" "Of the orthodox Catholic and Apostolic faith and religion," I answered. He replied, "If you have a good reason for desiring it, you may: it is not forbidden, but it must be another day, after service, for the monk who attends them is not now present." Pointing to the shrine of St. Jonah, and the huge silver candelabrum standing before it, he said, "The French could not carry off that; they were struck with blindness; the Saint defended his shrine by his prayers." A minute or two after, thinking I was a Roman Catholic, he said, "The Latin is the same Church with ours; we

have one and the same faith and religion." Alluding apparently to the terms on which the Uniats were separated from Russia and have since returned, he said, "One may say that there are but two points of difference between the Churches, the Procession and the Papal Headship; concerning the Procession, the Fathers disputed sharply in old times, but they did not for a long while break the unity of the Church, notwithstanding. Ah! Charity is all in all!"

Then he showed me the Churches of the Archangel and of the Annunciation, and then, passing through the Assumption again, came to a stone staircase, built by the Patriarch Nicon, in 1665, and leading up to the Patriarchal (now Synodal) Hall, vestry, and library. First he showed me the hall, where the holy chrism is boiled, on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday in Passion Week, previously to its being consecrated by the Metropolitan in the Church of the Assumption. Here, formerly, Synods were held; and here the Russian Patriarchs received the Tsars, and the Prelates of the Eastern Church. Here it was that Nicon was called to stand his trial before the Greek Patriarch. From this hall we went up by a narrow stair to the Patriarchal vestry, where a monk always remains in charge of its precious contents, and the library; these occupy two small rooms, the former being Nicon's refectory, the latter his oratory. At the entrance of

the vestry hung the Saccos of St. Peter, the first Metropolitan who died at Moscow, and said to be of the date of the Sixth Ecumenical Council (A.D. 680). It is much faded, but I could still trace the cross and figures; a vestment of the Patriarch Nicon, of the old form, with an *Icon* in pearls on the front. Round the chamber hung vestments of all the Metropolitans from Theognostes and the Patriarchs after them, down to Adrian (A.D. 1328—1690). Rich and magnificent as they were, there were none to be compared to those of Nicon, especially those which were presented to him by the Tsar Alexis Michaelovich. One of these is so laden with precious stones and pearls, that it weighs more than a *pood* (36 lbs.). Equally remarkable for costliness and splendour are the mitres, staffs, and *Panagias* of the same Patriarch, while the specimens of his ordinary clothing preserved here are of the plainest and coarsest kind, and are identified as his only by their great length. The most curious vestment is one brought from Constantinople, by the Metropolitan, Photius, embroidered with 70,000 grains of seed pearl, and having upon it likenesses of the Emperor John Paleologus, and his Empress, Anna, sister to the Grand Prince, Basil Dmetriavich, of Basil himself, the Metropolitan Photius, and the Patriarch Nicon. Round this vestment is worked, in letters of gold, the whole Creed in Greek, being so exact that it

served Nicon afterwards as a standard by which to correct certain variations which had crept into the Russian translation.

The further chamber is neatly fitted up with cases all round the walls for books and MSS. From the middle of the chamber rose a pyramid of steps, in a square form, like the stands in a greenhouse. It was covered with a profusion of plate which once belonged to the household of the Patriarchs, the gifts of various sovereigns. The lower rows consist of huge silver *amphoræ*, containing the Holy Chrism, set four on each side, sixteen in all, gilt within. Also there was a very rich alabaster vase, in which the Chrism still remaining over in each consecration is preserved. The Holy Chrism is made only here and at Kieff, and only once in three years. I noticed also a most magnificent embossed silver basin, flat, and very spacious, with a ewer, both for the washing of feet on Maundy Thursday. In a glass case I also saw some very ancient and valuable crosses, brought from Greece, and inclosing relics. Very minute portions are taken and imbedded in wax, and worked into all new antiminsia, or corporals. Here, too, is the *Panagia*, or pectoral ornament of the Metropolitan, St. Peter, and the Ring, given to the Metropolitan, St. Alexis, by the Tartar Khan Chanibak, for obtaining by his prayers the miraculous recovery of his wife, Taidoula, &c., &c

CHAPTER XCIX.

The Patriarchal Library.

THE original nucleus of what is now the Patriarchal Library, was a Greek MS., brought by Sophia from Greece and Italy, when she became the wife of John III., Basilivich. The richness of it is said to have been such as to strike with amazement the learned Greek Maximus, sent for from Mount Athos, by Basil, the son of Sophia, to sort and arrange the MSS. To this collection was added, afterwards, another, made by the Patriarch Nicon, who sent the monk Arsenius Souchanoff to Mount Athos, and to the East, with directions to search all the monasteries, and to bring back whatever he could procure in the way of valuable books and MSS. Souchanoff accordingly collected as many as 500 Greek books from Mount Athos, and received from the Greek Patriarchs an addition of 200 more. It is to be regretted, indeed, that much has been lost, and that what remains has never yet been systematically arranged;

but still enough remains to constitute one of the richest collections known; and it is said that when the MSS. were catalogued by Professor Mattei, he showed an astonishment not unlike that of Maximus, at the rarity and number of the treasures before him. It may not be out of place here to acknowledge the liberality and courtesy with which a collation of some MSS. of St. Chrysostom has recently been supplied from this library to certain members of the University of Oxford, the collators, M. M. Kyriakoff and another, declining to receive anything else for their trouble than a copy of the New Edition of that particular work of St. Chrysostom whenever it shall appear.

CHAPTER C.

Other Treasures of the Patriarchal and other Churches.

AFTER repassing into the hall, the Archimandrite showed me the Church or Chapel, which was attached to the Patriarchal Lodgings. It adjoins the hall, and in passing the hall, if I remember rightly, I saw the huge vessels used for the mixing and boiling of the Holy Chrism, viz. a tun of silver, for mixing it, weighing 8 poods[1] 19 lbs., besides 6 lbs. 36 zolotniks of gold with which it is gilded. The cover of this tun, on the top of which there is a representation of Samuel anointing Saul, weighs besides 2 poods 35 lbs. of silver, and is gilt with 4 zol. of gold. Then there were two great vessels or cauldrons for boiling the chrism, weighing each about 5 poods, 24 lbs. of silver, and gilt with 4 lbs. each of gold. In all about 780 lbs. of silver avoirdupois, and 19 lbs. of gold.

[1] [A pood = 40 pounds, or 36 lbs. avoirdupois; a zolotnik = somewhat less than 2 drams avoirdupois.]

I pass over much that I saw in the Patriarchal Church, and in the Church of the Archangel, where Grand Princes and Tsars were buried. There they showed me the shrine of Demetrius, the last of the line of Ruric, who was murdered at the age of eight years. It was most richly adorned and palled with a fringe of the Imperial or Tsarish ermine. They also showed me the two tombs of the brothers John and Theodore Alexiavich, tombs remarkable for the incredible richness of their palls or coverings, wrought by their sister the Empress Elizabeth. They were literally covered with studs of solid silver, pearls, and huge emeralds, one of which the monk said was worth at least 25,000 roubles (5000*l.*). There was gold and pearls without end. The royal doors seemed to be of sheets of solid gold. This church is rather a burying-place of the Tsars than a place for public worship.

CHAPTER CI.

The Emperor, with his Son and Heir and Daughter-in-law.

ALSO, there is much to be told of the old Tartar palace, which was built upon the site of the former lodging of the Metropolitans, and contained in it seven small churches, which formed quite a labyrinth. These the Archimandrite showed me, and then conducted me by a narrow passage and staircase straight down opposite to the western gate of the Cathedral of the Assumption, just at the moment that the Emperor with his son and daughter-in-law drove up, and, alighting, walked by a platform from the Church of the Archangel to the southern door of the Assumption, where they were received by the Metropolitan and clergy with the cross and holy water.

The enthusiasm of the multitude was unbounded; and certainly, after what I then witnessed, I could not but understand the feeling of those Russians, who wonder how their sovereigns can endure to labour for that which satisfieth not at Petersburg, when they

might reign in the hearts of Christians at Moscow. They assisted with all their suite at the usual prayers, and, after they left the church, there followed repeated roarings of cannon, and the ringing of bells of every size and tone down to nightfall. The heir-apparent, who came that day in state with his bride, had himself been baptized in infancy within the precincts of the Kremlin, in the Church of the Annunciation, in the Choudoff monastery, from which at a later hour I saw the Metropolitan then come across the square to receive him.

CHAPTER CII.

The Choudoff Monastery.

SOME days after I was shown over the Choudoff Monastery. The relics of St. Alexis, its founder, are preserved in a silver shrine. There was a rich pall over them, and a monk standing by with a stole over his black dress, and his staff in his hand. This was on the morning of June 7 [N.S.]. Overhead was a picture of the Saint as he appeared before Demetrius Donskoi, exhorting him to put his trust in God in the approaching conflict with Mamai, the Mongol. The doors of the Sanctuary are of silver. In the vestry is preserved a copy of the New Testament, written by St. Alexis with his own hand very beautifully on parchment, and much worn, with a few words of Archbishop Platen on the first leaf. There were also, as elsewhere, some most splendidly jewelled robes and mitres; one set in particular presented by the Emperor Paul to the Metropolitan Platon, and another given by a noble lady still living to the present Metropolitan.

In this monastery, Isidore, the thirtieth Metropolitan, was confined, on his return from the Council of Florence; and here Gregory Otrepieff, the Pseudo-Demetrius, planned his enterprise which had almost subjected Russia to the Poles.

CHAPTER CIII.

St. Sergius.

SERGIUS, the founder and special saint and patron of the Troitsa or Trinity Monastery, flourished in the fourteenth century,[1] and it may be right to preface this visit to his great Lavra with some pages from Mouravieff's "Church History," and Mr. Blackmore's notes upon it, by way of introducing to the reader both the Holy Hermit and his home.

"With the name of Sergius," says Mouravieff, p. 61, "a new monastic world opens itself in the north. The commencement of his lonely hermitage in the woods near Moscow is a point of as much importance in our history as the excavation of the caves of Anthony on the banks of the Dnieper; for he was destined to divide with Anthony the glory of having been the Father of monasticism in Russia. Sergius was born at Rostoff; when yet quite young he left the house of his parents, and, together with his brother Steven, settled

[1] [Vide *supra*, pp. 183, 184.]

himself in the thick woods in the neighbourhood of Radonege, where his brother left him. In this wild solitude he resisted all manner of temptations, and lived among the wild beasts of the forest, until the report of his holy life drew disciples around him. He built by his own labour in the midst of the forest a wooden church, with the title of the Source of Life, the ever blessed Trinity, which has since grown into that glorious Lavra, whose destiny has become inseparable from the destinies of the capital, and from whence on so many occasions the salvation of all Russia has proceeded.

"Prelates and princes applied to Sergius for teachers, who, trained by him to perfection, might in turn by their good example be of like service to others; and thus a second era and development of monasticism began, and in the fulness of its light our unhappy country, which had been suffering so long under the plague of the Tartars, revived. At the very moment of the decisive victory upon the Don, gained over the Mongols, which first shook their empire in Russia, the aged saint was supporting Demetrius by his prayers.

"He died at an extreme old age, amid the blessings of his contemporaries, which were soon changed into prayers for his intercession when his remains were found uncorrupted. They were found by his disciple

Nicon, as he was building the stone church of the Holy Trinity, and were deposited in it when built as a support and strength to the Lavra, which from that time forth was never touched by so much as one of those calamities which fell upon the neighbouring capital."

Mr. Blackmore adds: "The Troitza Monastery is even to the present day the richest and the most celebrated of all the religious houses in Russia. It is said to have possessed at one time 106,000 male peasants or serfs, with the land to which they were attached. It once withstood the attacks of a Polish army of 30,000 men for sixteen months. It is surrounded by a wall 1500 yards in length, and flanked by eight towers. It has a belfry 290 feet high, in which there is a bell weighing 144,000 pounds. All the movable treasures of Moscow were placed here for security during the invasion of the French in 1812."

CHAPTER CIV.

Visit to the Troitsa Lavra.

ON Saturday, May 29 [N.S.], being the eve before "Pentecost," or "the Festival of the Holy Trinity," as it is called by the Easterns, I started at four a.m. with a letter from the Metropolitan Philaret, for his namesake the Archimandrite, his vicar, for this Troitsa, the great Trinity Lavra of St. Sergius, distant about sixty-four versts to the north-east from Moscow. I had hired a *triska*, which is a light waggon drawn by three horses, something resembling a boat with a little arch over the head and over the feet. The horses had all bells; but the middle one only was in shafts, the other two running loose on either side. The driver sits on a sacking stretched on cords over the small arch in front. The traveller sits or lies on a quantity of hay with which the cradle is nearly filled. The road was good enough for the greater part of the way; but this sort of vehicle, having no springs, no one ought to use it, as I then did ignorantly, without providing himself with a mat-

tress or feather-bed, and tying a sash or shawl tightly round his body, else he will run a risk of being jarred and shaken almost to pieces. We stopped about ten or eleven o'clock to feed the horses, and then proceeded; but towards the end of the journey we had to leave our good road, for a mere cart-rut over a common or waste. The country looked much better than anything between Petersburg and Moscow, showing a good deal of cultivated land and hills and dales and wood, and occasionally green meadows. Still the general appearance was flat, and the views very extensive, but improving as we approached the Lavra. We arrived at length at the village, or town, of about 3000 souls, which partly surrounds it, and saw before us a long line of lofty, stern, military-looking wall, with battlements and gothic-looking towers at intervals, and narrow loopholes in the body of the wall below. It rose boldly from the undulating and broken ground; and above the wall there showed themselves five great cupolas—four green and one in the centre gilt, belonging, as I afterwards found, to a church built after that of the Assumption at Moscow by John the Terrible. Adjoining these a bell-tower, handsomely built, of four or five stages, and covered with a golden bulb, rose, I should think, to a height of 300 feet, and lower down a host of lesser bulbs and towers of the numerous churches or chapels contained within the precincts.

There were moreover several churches in the village and neighbourhood, and a great caravanserie outside the walls of the convent for the reception of pilgrims, of whom we had passed many groups along the whole line of our road. Many of them were going towards Troitsa, as indeed was natural to expect on the eve of the anniversary, and that so great a festival; but there were also great numbers who appeared to be returning from it. In all there were, I should think, several thousands, and quite as many women as men. They seemed to wear a peculiar dress of a whitish-brown colour, the head, chin, and face bound and muffled up in a handkerchief, a jacket or smock covering the body and reaching barely to the knees, while the legs were clad in wrappers, with either bare feet, or else shoes of bark, or sandals. Many groups we had passed reclining in the shade of trees and resting, others walking in a body, others scattered irregularly in long lines twos and threes, and single stragglers at intervals. When we reached the Lavra, we stopped at the caravanserie, where a lay brother of the convent in a cassock let me into an empty room, and gave me the key. Afterwards I went out to call upon the Archimandrite-Vicar, Antonius, and delivered to him a letter from the Metropolitan, who is himself the Archimandrite of the Lavra.

The outer gates were thronged with a dense crowd

of peasants, as were also the courts of the monastery within, and the avenues of lime-trees, and the porches and approaches of all the churches. Many of them asked alms, and there sat along the broad walk and avenues long lines of beggars on either side, many with their hats or caps in their laps, showing in the crowns all that they had received; and some had a good heap of copper, nor did it seem to strike them that having received so much they were any the less likely for showing it to receive more. One man, whose heap seemed one of the largest, being asked to give change for a piece of silver and keep himself a halfpenny, gave the change immediately with abundance of thanks. Some, too, assisted their less fortunate brethren, who were blind, to beg, or turned attention towards them in a very amiable manner. All the pilgrims who had come from any distance had a staff in their hands and a wallet over their shoulders; and many, they said, had walked hither from very distant provinces —some even from Siberia. The principal church for antiquity and sanctity is not that which most strikes a stranger on first entering (because the largest and standing in the centre of the precinct, with an area of grass and limes around it), but another, the Church of the Holy Trinity, which stands in the north-west corner, with two gilded cupolas. The bells of the convent were sounding as the *triska* drove up to the hostel; and by

the time that the Archimandrite, Antonius, had read the Metropolitan's letter and introduced me to the Archimandrite-Rector of the Academy, with whom I was to lodge, he said it was time to go to the church for the Lesser Vespers, it being then about three o'clock. Accordingly we went into the Church of the Holy Trinity, the crowd making way and kissing his hand, and asking his blessing all the way.

CHAPTER CV.

The feast of the Holy Trinity.—The Trinity Church.—The Anniversary Service.

HAVING entered the church at the northern door, we passed into the *Prothesis*, and round the altar to the *Diaconicum*, or vestry, on the south side, where I stood under the arch between the *diaconicum* and the sanctuary, the Archimandrite taking his place against the *Iconostasis*, in a chair, and a small carpet set for him immediately before the royal doors, on the south side. There is his place to stand, or sit, when he does not officiate. In the place answering to it on the other side of the royal doors, there was an ex-bishop of Ekaterinoslav, who, from age and blindness, has obtained permission to retire from his see, and prepare for death in this convent.

As for the appearance presented by the church of the Trinity, it had an *iconostasis*, like those of the Moscow churches, with four upper tiers of icons of saints, large, long, dark pictures bordered with gold,

besides the lower row above the steps of the *solea*, and on the doors, which were all over gold, or silver gilt, except the faces and hands, as was also the screen itself and its ornaments. At the south end of the *solea*, against the wall of the church, was a silver shrine, or grotto, containing the relics of St. Sergius, and on the top of the *iconostasis*, over the royal doors, a cross. Lamps of solid silver, a lesser and a larger one alternately, but all very large, with chains and huge wax lights, were hanging one before each icon, all the length of the *solea*, from branches bending out from above the first story of the *iconostasis*: two magnificent silver candelabra stood on the floor in front of the door; and there were again other massive lamps, like those along the *solea*, attached to the two pillars and hanging from them, and from the central dome. The pillars being very bulky, and also high, and only two in number, the church looks small, and too lofty for its other dimensions. Standing in front of the sanctuary, one looks up into the chief central dome, and two lesser concavities. The whole of the walls and roof, the pillars, the arches, and the cupolas themselves, within and above, were painted in fresco, with gilding, beginning from where the gold sheathing of the pillars terminates, about twelve feet or more from the ground. The ambo juts out from the *solea*, as in all the churches here, and within the royal doors

and the veil is a very elegant massive tabernacle, or canopy, raised on four twisted columns over the altar, all of solid silver. The altar itself was a square, rather higher than usual, and had a covering of light silk, with beautiful festoons of grapes and flowers on each side. A very small gospel, set upright, the cross laid on one side, the antimense, and a larger gospel, were all the furniture upon it, covered over with a loose outer covering or carpet, before and after service. Immediately behind the silver canopy, and so adjoining the back of the altar, was a silver stand, or table, with an ornamented tabernacle, or artophorion, upon it, of the same material, and a single lamp, and behind that, again, a tree rising from the ground, in dead silver, solid, having seven branches, terminating in calices and coloured glass lamps of four colours; blue, green, red, and yellow, like flowers rising out of them, and culminating towards the seventh, which was in the centre, as to an apex.

The walls of the sanctuary, at least six feet thick, are covered all over with bishops and saints in fresco. The windows were all of the same form, as are also still those of the larger and more recent Church of the Assumption, but when the church was last restored, at the end of the last, or beginning of the present century, some of the lower windows had their tops squared. However, none of them have the square

sash window-frames and glazing, so common at Petersburg, but the glazing is with diamond-shaped panes, and lead or iron to hold them. There is a circular seat running round the apse with the metropolitan's throne, or chair, rising one step above it, in the centre, and the fans, or wings of cherubim, are fixed on either side of it. After the Lesser Vespers, the Archimandrite gave me a cup of tea, but without offering bread or anything else to eat.

At six p.m. we went to the Vigil Service, which lasted till near eleven. At first there was only the officiating priest, whose turn it was, bareheaded, in *epitrachelion* (stole) and mantle, to say the secret prayers as usual on the *solea* during Psalm civ., and the Archimandrite-Vicar took the chief place in front of the altar in a most splendid mitre covered with pearls and jewels. When all was over the Archimandrite gave me in charge to the Rector of the Spiritual Academy, now Bishop of Riga, with whom I was to lodge. It was a fine summer night, and we passed out from among the lights and a multitude of people, and crossed to the opposite (east) side of the vast silent precinct of the monastery with its many massive buildings and projecting shadows. The Academy, which was once a palace for the reception of the Tsars when they came here, occupies the east side of the precinct, with a garden laid out with walks and hedges before it, where all

seemed already asleep. It was now nearly midnight, and to one who had been standing above five hours, and before that had been jolting in a vehicle without springs under a hot sun over hard ground, part of the way a mere rough track, since four o'clock in the morning, it was no unpleasant thing to be able to lie down.[1]

The next morning, May 30, at eight o'clock, amid a perfect roar or thunder of bells, so that one could not hear a word said out of doors, and scarcely in, we went to the Liturgy. The church was stuck all over with green boughs and portions of trees, as were also all the rooms of the monastery and the academy, and all the congregation held branches of green in their hands, in allusion, it was said, to the tree under which Abraham entertained his three Spiritual Guests. After the hours had been read, the Bishop of Ekaterinoslav, who officiated, having been robed on his platform, the Archimandrite-Vicar and the Archimandrite-Rector of the Academy and some six or eight other priest-monks and deacons having vested within the *iconostasis*, went first two and two, and stood in two lines between the Bishop's ambo and the royal doors. They were in their high black caps, and cowls

[1] [It is incidentally mentioned afterwards that, before parting for the night, the Archimandrite gave Mr. Palmer a good-sized piece of bread.]

falling down upon splendid dark red copes, with gold or yellow *sticharia* under them, the two Archimandrites and the Bishop wearing most richly-jewelled mitres. Then came in one after another on different sides the Archimandrites, to begin the Liturgy, and stood north and south of the altar. After the communion, when they took the blest bread to those who had communicated, the Archimandrites sent me one of the five Prosphoræ, from which the Oblation and the Commemoration particles had been taken; it was that of the Blessed Virgin. After the conclusion of the Liturgy, a clerk brought in a great dishful of bunches of flowers, and gave a bunch to each of them in order, which they held in their hands, others being laid all round the altar. Then the bells sounded again, and they began None and Vespers, with remarkable kneelings and long prayers, said westward towards the people at three several times, for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on the living and for the departed. This has been the custom now for many ages, and the Vespers were always said on this day earlier than usual, it being forbidden to break the fast till after they were concluded, on account of the solemn prayers just mentioned. By the present arrangement all was finished by noon, so as to cause no postponement of dinner, to which we went almost immediately on leaving the church.

CHAPTER CVI.

Dinner of the Troitsa Festival.

WE dined that day in the great refectory or *trapeza*, a noble hall in size and style of architecture something like that of Christ Church, Oxford, but I think larger. It is splendidly ornamented, and has segments of arches concealing the square tops of the windows, which were very deep in the wall. It forms the nave of a moderate-sized church named after St. Sergius himself, on the south side of the precinct. You go up to it from without by steps and pass through an open porch, and another covered porch, before entering it. The tables are arranged just as the hall of one of our own colleges, the high table running across at the eastern end of the *trapeza*, where it opens by doors into the church properly so called, so that on entering from the west, one looked through them straight up towards the sanctuary. At the high table, in the middle, sat the Archimandrites, the Archimandrite-Vicar as Superior present

on the inner side with his back to the hall, and looking eastward and towards the sanctuary; the Rector of the Spiritual Academy opposite to him; the monks in holy orders and guests on either side of them, forty-four in all. On lower tables along the side walls were the monks who were not in orders, and probationers; beyond them, on other tables, the students of the Spiritual Academy. Before coming up we had looked into another large room with a table set out for a large number of boys, perhaps of the school kept within the monastery.

On taking their seats every one crossed himself and bowed towards the sanctuary, then they sang the grace as usual. During a great part of the dinner a monk read at a lectern from the Life of St. Sergius. Glasses were set at each plate, as with us; in the middle of the table were set huge silver tankards of excellent mead, or of beer looking like porter, and quass. Wine, too, was handed round. There were several soups of fish, hot and cold, and other dishes, all without meat. At the end of the dinner, the attendants, who seemed to be younger probationers, filled for each person a long glass of champagne; and, all rising, the Polychronia (health, long life, and a happy reign) was sung and drunk to the emperor. Lastly grace was sung admirably; and the Archimandrite-Vicar, going round to the east side of the table with one or two others, waved

a small piece of bread on a cloth or carpet, chanting at the same time, over a stand set in front of the royal doors, on which there was placed a silver cup of wine. He then put a particle into the cup, ate a particle, and drank a little of the wine; then the others did the same, it being taken to all who were at table in order. They said that this was the elevation of the Panagia, a ceremony in honour of the Blessed Virgin.[1]

During all this time the centre of the vast hall had filled with a motley and picturesque crowd of both sexes, and all ages and conditions, for the greater part pilgrims and peasants, with their leg-wrappers, bark shoes, wallets, and staves. Part of them seemed to be merely looking on and admiring the hall, or interested in the singing and the Polychronium (ad multos annos) for the Emperor; but a large portion was evidently listening to the reader, and pressed round the lectern to hear the Life of St. Sergius.

Then we left the hall, and visited the kitchen and bakehouse, and a court where 1500 poor strangers had just dined. They had consumed fifty pood of black bread. The monastery is bound to give refreshment to the number of 500 daily, if so many present themselves.

[1] ["In the Greek 'Horologion,' Venice, 1838, p. 121," adds Mr. Palmer, "there is a very circumstantial but very legendary account of the origin and meaning of this custom."]

We then visited some exceedingly neat schoolrooms, where 140 boys from the adjacent townships received their education. We were told that the confiscation of monastery lands under Catharine II. is everywhere visible, even in this place, the richest of all. In many parts of the building there is decay, which is either neglected altogether, or repaired inadequately, for want of funds. They have also an institution for orphans, and a hospital. There are now forty of the monks in priests' orders, and fifteen deacons, and, with the novices and elder probationers, they make nearly 140 in all. In the Seminary—that is, as it is now called, the Academy, there are 150 students, divided into two sections, of which the lower learn philosophy, as it is called, and the higher theology. The lower are besides chiefly occupied with languages. Most or all of them know German, many can read but none speak French; three can read English, but the English course since the reaction against Bible Societies has been discontinued.

There are two excellent walks here round the convent on the walls, in which are two galleries roofed, showing the country through loopholes, on the outer side, and on the inner open towards the convent, which is three-quarters of a mile in circuit, and has eight towers with red roofs. It contains eight distinct churches.

The same day, at five p.m., there being another vigil, as to-morrow [Whit-Monday] is the special festival of the Holy Spirit, we went to Lesser Vespers and Compline, and sang at Compline the canon of the Holy Ghost. I did not go to the full vigil service with the monks, but to a greatly abridged substitute for it, that is said in the academy for the students. The class-rooms and apartments for the Superiors, at least those for the Rector and Inspector, were large and handsomely ornamented, but there was nothing like personal luxury or indulgence. While I was staying with them, there was no appearance of any meal but dinner; not even bread was offered at any other time but only tea, and that not more than once in the course of the afternoon, so that we only ate once a day, and it may have been for that reason that the Archimandrite gave me such a large provision of bread after the vigil on Saturday.

CHAPTER CVII.

Library of the Academy and the Theological Professor.

ON Monday, at nine a.m., we attended Liturgy, with all the students and members of the academy, in the Church of St. Sergius, in the *trapeza*, where the monks had dined the day before. This day is the special festival of the Holy Spirit, but the Tuesday [Whit-Tuesday] is not distinguished from the other days of the week. For convenience sake at such times the academy has almost all its religious services apart from the monastic community.

After the service we went into the library of the academy, which seems a good one, and is kept in a spacious room. The Professor of Ecclesiastical History, a layman, asked many questions about the Anglican Church, beginning as they all do from the questions of its names or titles. Especially he asked whether we had many books of systematic theology, and wondered at the answer that we had scarcely any; which, however, agreed, he said, with an account given to Professor

Tholuck, by another Englishman, and printed in his periodical in 1831. He said that systematic instruction in theology is very necessary, especially in these times. They pointed out to me, on various shelves, volumes of Bull, Cave, Beveridge, Poole, Bingham, and some others; and the Rector asked if I could tell him anything of an English writer named *Roothius*, author of a very learned work entitled "Relliquiæ Sacræ." "I have," said he, "a lesser publication of his entitled 'Opuscula,' but the other is absolutely necessary for me, the Synod having charged me to prepare the 'Lives of the Fathers,' with some notice of the works of each, and I have written in vain to Paris, Berlin, and Dresden, and have nowhere been able to procure it."

Speaking of doctrine, the Archimandrite said that the "Orthodox Confession of Peter Mogila certainly *was* of authority in their Church before the recent edition, notwithstanding what some persons of rank might have said at random; that they were only laymen, and were not to be depended on as authorities in such matters, that the Church of Rome had invented a good deal of scholastic phraseology, some of which had needlessly, or ignorantly, been admitted among themselves, but that it would be best to get rid of it; and, no doubt, as learning and knowledge of the old Fathers improved, this would be done. They suppose

the Anglican Church to teach that there are two sacraments, neither more nor less; that the Apocryphal books were simply to be rejected; and that, on the points of Prayer for the Departed, Invocation of the Saints, Relics and Images, the doctrine and practice is merely negative, like that of the Lutherans and Calvinists. Speaking of the asperity of their present Forms of Reconciliation for Papists, he thought it had originated in the time of the Patriarch Philaret [1620], when they went even farther, and re-baptized the Latins.

CHAPTER CVIII.

Visit to Platon's Monastery and Sergius's Coffin.

IN the afternoon, about two p.m., we drove to the corner of a wood, belonging partly to the Lavra, and partly to the dependent convent and seminary of Bethany, founded by the Metropolitan Platon, and established, that is, slightly endowed by the Emperor Paul. We walked the rest of the way, being about a mile along a beautiful valley, with a lake, sometimes broad, sometimes like a river winding among the hills, now wooded with pine and birch down to the water's edge, now beautifully bordered with native turf, as in an English park, and now a hill or rock jutting out and overhanging it. The ground, too, about the Lavra itself, I may observe, is finely thrown about and broken.

We visited first the Seminary, and then the curious church of the hermitage, in which Platon erected a great hill of rock-work and moss representing Mount Tabor, with steep steps leading to the small platform

on the summit. Here is a small sanctuary with an upper Church of the Transfiguration, and an icon which was taken from the French in 1814, and is said to have belonged at one time to Louis XVI. of France. The lower church is called that of the Resurrection of Lazarus, and in a grotto representing his tomb is the tomb of Platon himself. While we were there, a number of people came in, crossing themselves and prostrating, and touching the ground with their foreheads, and then leaning over and kissing the head and feet of a figure of our Saviour on the cross which lay on the top of the tomb. In a niche or vault close adjoining, with a lamp burning before it, and covered with a carpet, there stood a long wooden coffin, in which St. Sergius himself was originally buried, and in which he lay above thirty years before the exhumation of his relics.

Though of such antiquity it seemed in excellent preservation, the boards being very thick, only the middle part under the carpet was somewhat uneven or broken. This was explained by the Rector's telling me that it came from the people biting off and carrying bits off as a cure for the toothache, which was a common superstition among the peasants.

At the moment we entered the church they were beginning Vespers, which they celebrated in the upper church as agreeing with the mysteries of the season.

It was noticed, also, that to-day there was a commemoration of the Metropolitan St. Alexis, who, with St. Sergius, strengthened Demetrius Donskoi against the Tartars,[1] and wished to persuade Sergius to be his successor. After the Vespers and Compline, we heard them sing a *Pannychid* in memory of the Metropolitan Platon, according to his last instructions. In a glazed frame close to his tomb in the Grotto of Lazarus hangs a copy of his will, with a Testamentary Address and Thanksgiving, an interesting and touching document.

We next visited his apartments in the hermitage, which have been kept up just as he left, and are furnished with much taste and elegance, according to the fashion of that time: they said it was the English style.

It was impossible not to be struck with the enchanting prospect of the lake, lawns, walks, herds, and corn-fields, and over all in the distance the golden bulbs and white towers and massive walls of the Lavra shining in a gleam of sun. He had evidently chosen the site and built these rooms and pavilion on purpose for this view. Nothing can well be imagined more beautiful. There are strawberries and violets in the wood, and fish in the water, and we saw the boys fishing, but did not see any boats upon

[1] [The decisive battle was fought on Sept. 8th, 1380. *Vide* Blackmore's "Mouravieff."]

it, though there is one at least belonging to the monastery. The students of the Academy have liberty during the hours of recreation to walk here; only the Inspector must know, and his apartments in the Lavra are well placed, so as to command a view of the place by which they go in and out. We walked back as we had come, through the wood, or skirting it along the margin of the lake, and, on emerging from it, found our carriage waiting for us, and drove back to the Lavra.

CHAPTER CIX.

The Troitsa Vestry, and lodgings of the Metropolitan.

THE same afternoon the Archimandrite-Vicar showed me the vestry. We passed through several very strong and heavy iron doors, and saw several rooms full of presses, containing the robes of various Archimandrites, especially of the Patriarch Ioasaph, and the famous Dionysius, and many rich gifts of John the Terrible and other Tsars. Numbers of old and small *icons* were fixed round the tops of the presses. On a table in one of the rooms is a cabinet with the original will of the Metropolitan Platon; also riches in pearls, jewels, and gold on the various mitres, chalices, gospels, crosiers, &c., quite indescribable. Among other things, in a set of altar-cloths and coverlets, given by Boris Godounoff, was one article, an *Aer*,[1] on which the body of our Saviour, with glory round His brow (as on the Sindon), was represented by embroidery lying on the chalice with the *asterisk* over it, while two angels, bending over, were

[1] [*Vid. supr.* p. 186.]

fanning with the wings of cherubim. A remarkable and instructive contrast to all the surrounding wealth and magnificence was presented by the robes and altar-service of St. Sergius himself. His *phenolion* (not a cope, but the older round cloke) was of very coarse plain dark cloth, not woollen but more like undressed hemp, darned and patched, and the sacred vessels were of maple wood, made, it is said, by his own hands.

The lodgings of the Metropolitan are some very handsomely furnished rooms, and in them is a striking portrait of John the Terrible, whose fierce glaring countenance seemed to agree with his historical character, as the portraits of Henry VIII. do with Henry's. The domestic chapel of the apartments is small; outside, or behind them, is a terrace on to the open air, affording a charming view of the broken verdant and wooded country below; to the right the lake and the Church of Bethany in the distance; while on the left, and south-east, covering a slope on the Moscow road, is the town with its environs, houses and gardens, white, yellow, green and black, and occasionally red, and several churches with green or gilt bulbs, partly on a hill, partly in a valley; while on turning a little round, one sees the strong crenulated walls of the Lavra, the domes of the chief churches, and the huge campanile, higher than Ivan Veliki at Moscow, with a larger bell in it than any other now used in Russia.

CHAPTER CX.

Conversation with the Archimandrite-Rector, Philaret.

TUESDAY, June 1 [N.S.].—Went at nine a.m. to the Liturgy in the Church of the Holy Trinity. I dined, as yesterday, about twelve with the Rector, Philaret, and walked upon the walls, and discussed with him the difference between crows, rooks, and jackdaws; the two last are called here by the same name (only lesser and greater); the rook does not remain all the winter. After Vespers I went with the Inspector to the church of the sick and old monks;—the chief had a mitre. After this the Rector gave me some tea, and we had some conversation on the question of the Procession, in which I expressed my own opinion that the Greeks ought not to accuse us of heretical doctrine which we abhor. We also had a long discussion about Aristotle, Plato, and Socrates; he did not do Aristotle anything like justice, and was only tolerably pacified when I allowed that he should have the last place of the three, but he wanted to put even Cicero above him, who was very little, if anything, of a philosopher at all. We continued talking till one a.m.

CHAPTER CXI.

The Abbess Tchoutchkoff.

WEDNESDAY, June 2 [N.S.].—We had a call from the Abbess Maria Tchoutchkoff,[1] who had lost her husband at Borodino, and her son soon after. Now she has 115 nuns and novices there, and was godmother to the Princess of Hesse Darmstadt, and has been invited to meet the Grand Duke and Duchess here. She is a great friend of Madame Potemkin, from whom she heard of me, and she called on the Rector with a young novice, a Jewess, a great pet of hers. Hearing that I was here she desired to see me, and after a moment or two asked me whether I was not a Catholic. Certainly, I answered. The Rector interposed to explain;—I was of the Episcopalian Church, and not a Papist. She seemed to have no notion of anything but Catholics, on whom she looked with favour. Speaking of tolerance, Protestants were either Calvinists or Lutherans or heretics. I said

[1] [*Vid. supr.* p. 322.]

I would call myself, my Church, my religion, by no other names than True, Orthodox, Catholic, and Apostolic, but I was certainly no Papist. She said, "Perhaps, then, you think the Church is made up of all Christians in general, and are for tolerance;" a view she seemed to favour herself. I assured her I detested most cordially all such cruel charity, if charity it be, and not rather indifference and unbelief. She saw my dress, and said it was not the same as that of the Catholics. The Rector said it was more like their own. He was well aware of the mischief of misusing the term "Catholic," but so used it occasionally nevertheless.

At night the Rector told me that the Metropolitan had come, and brought word for me; they wanted at Petersburg to know where I was, as letters had come for me from England.

CHAPTER CXII.

Subsequent History of the Archimandrite-Rector, Philaret.

JUNE 3 [N.S.].—There was another subject on which the Archimandrite-Rector held a controversy with me; apparently on the morning of my departure; but, before proceeding to it, I will insert some points in the Rector's history subsequent to this date, which it is pleasant to me to associate with my remembrances of this place. Philaret, my host, at the date of my visit to the Troitsa Lavra, was Rector of the Spiritual Academy, contained within its walls, and Archimandrite; he afterwards became Bishop of Riga. He is conspicuous for having there, in the course of a few years, received into the Orthodox Church as many as 70,000 or 80,000 Lettish Lutherans. The circumstances under which he was appointed are remarkable. The Lettish peasants, who had for centuries been oppressed by their German lords, and had little sympathy for their German pastors, had for some time been in a state of excitement, and reports had been circulated by some

of them, that if they were to join the Orthodox Church, the Government would either improve their condition, in relation to the lords of the soil, or would remove them, and give them lands and freedom elsewhere. Some of the peasantry applied to the then Bishop of Riga, to inform themselves of the truth of this report; and the Bishop, while he said that he had no authority to hold out to them any such prospect of temporal advantage, did not, as it would seem, trouble himself to correct their misapprehensions, but rather signified that perhaps the Government might be more inclined to favour them, if they were members of the Church; or, at any rate, that it would be very natural and proper that it should be so, though he had no information about it. Their hopes being rather confirmed by this answer than destroyed, some of them began to pass on to the Russian communion. The German Lutherans, lords of the soil, and the pastors, greatly annoyed at this movement, lodged an "information before the Government at Petersburg, against the Bishop, on the ground that the rights and privileges of the Lutheran religion, as guaranteed to the Baltic provinces, were infringed, and civil disturbances caused, by the Bishop's encouragement of proselytism." The Government referred the matter to the Synod; and the Synod, after examination, displaced the Bishop, and sent him into a monastery, on the ground that he ought not to have

laid himself open to any suspicion of encouraging what were secular motives, in so grave a matter as conversion, motives too, which compromised the Government, as supposing certain wishes and intentions on its part.

Philaret, Rector of the Spiritual Academy at the Troitsa, was chosen to be his successor; and, as soon as he was consecrated, set to work, with great energy, to give an unmistakable spiritual direction to the general fermentation and good will towards the Russian Church, which he found existing in the Lettish peasantry. He opened conferences with some of the Moravian pastors, the least unbelieving of the Germans, and not without effect; he translated the Russian Catechism into the Lettish dialect, and began to translate the Liturgy, and to train priests and deacons who should be able to officiate and preach among the peasantry in their own language. From a mixture of motives, among which discontent with their German lords was, no doubt, very prominent, the movement in the country became daily more general and decided. Once more the nobility and their clergy, alarmed and exasperated, made representation to the Government at Petersburg, and complained of it as an infringement of their rights, that the Bishop had printed the Russian Catechism in the Lettish language. But at this time they were unsuccessful in their remonstrance. It was, indeed, plain that, so long as they had no other acts of

the Bishop to allege, he could not be interfered with, he was only doing his duty; and if he really was, by such means as were brought against him, bringing people into the Church, the Russian Government had no reason to be dissatisfied with him.

But, in the meantime, the Prussian and German newspapers invented, and the French and English circulated, the most extravagant stories concerning Russian bigotry and oppression; representing that the Emperor was forcing the whole population at the point of the bayonet to conform to the Russian Church, and using its clergy as the tool of his political proselytism. On this the Emperor, who was at Palermo, either from embarrassment at the rapidity of the movement, or from sensitiveness at the stories circulated through the West of Europe, to the disadvantage of his Government,—or, thinking it an equitable concession to the German nobility, issued an *oukaz*, to the effect that no Lettish peasant should be received into the Orthodox Church who had not, six months previously, signed a public declaration of his intention. However, in spite of this discouragement, the movement continued to spread, and is still spreading, year after year: and, on the tercentenary of the adoption of the Religion of Private Judgment, in some places the whole population of a village met together in the church, and took a solemn farewell for ever of Luther and his Reformation. And

just now there seems to be every probability that the whole population of the Baltic provinces will, in a few years, have passed over to the Orthodox Communion.

In 1847, a friend of mine had a conversation on the subject with Count Pratasoff, the Ober-Prokuror, and sent me an account of it, of which the following is an extract. "I spoke of the conversion of Livonia; he seemed in high spirits about it, and said, 'They are going on faster than ever; thousands are inscribing their names on the lists every month, and the whole number already received into the Church amounts to 72,000.' He said that the Government was quite embarrassed to find them priests and churches, and that on this account they rather try to moderate than to accelerate the movement. An *oukaz* has been issued that no one is to be received into the Church who has not given six months' notice, being quite at liberty to change his mind in the interval. The converts meanwhile are subject to petty persecutions and vexations from their German lords, so that it cannot be said that they have been taken by surprise. I heard it suggested that it was intended to deprive the Lutherans of the churches; he immediately replied, 'No, we will not touch a hair of their heads; the churches belong to the Seigneurs.' I said, 'The churches are ecclesiastical property, and cannot belong to laymen.' He answered quickly, 'No matter, we

will not have them; we will build churches of our own.'

"'One great difficulty,' he says, 'is to procure land for sites, for churches and burying-grounds, for the proprietors refused to sell.' On my remarking that, in the rapidity of its spreading, it resembled the first outbreak of Lutheranism in Germany, he said it was so, but that both in its progress and in the opposition made to it, it was as much indebted to temporal as to religious motives, or more; that the peasants embrace it from dislike of their masters and a wish to have more holidays, not less than from conviction; and that the Germans oppose it, not so much from regard to Lutheranism, as from national or rather provincial pride. I understand the Minister-Adjoint of Public Instruction has put the number of converts at 100,000, which may well be the case if we reckon in, at 28,000, those who have inscribed their names for their six months' probation."

Such is the account which has reached the present writer of a remarkable religious movement rarely witnessed in our days, and such was the part which Philaret, my host in 1841, had in it.

CHAPTER CXIII.

Mr. Palmer's discussion with the Archimandrite Philaret about Invocation of Saints.

THUS I introduce the conversation I had with him at the Troitsa Monastery, at this date, on the subject of the Invocation of the Saints. In the following dialogue *Ph.* denotes Philaret, and *A.* his Anglican guest.

The Archimandrite began thus: *Ph.* I have looked over the Introduction to the XXXIX. Articles which you have given me, and wonder at what is there said of *Icons*, Relics, and Invocation of the Saints, seeing that from the first there was a necessary connexion between outward representations of them and the inward sentiments of veneration and honour entertained towards them. I wonder then to find you calling, what I consider inseparable, ἀδιάφορον, indifferent. Who does not identify a father's countenance with his spirit or soul?

A. Not only do we call it ἀδιάφορον, but for ourselves,

absolutely and abstractedly, we prefer what we think the more ancient and primitive sense and practice of the Church to your present. We contend that our Church has never synodically bound herself to the Decrees of the Second Nicene Council, though the custom which that Council sanctions may have been introduced and prevailed among us for some centuries, through Papal influence.

Ph. Canonical decisions need not enter into the question. If the thing is in itself natural and tends to edification, it is good, whether any particular Church makes canons for it or against it.

A. We think that there are many things which may be more or less profitable, according to circumstances, and this among the number. There may be no necessary sin or idolatry in it, if holy pictures or images be honoured according to the doctrine and intention of the Church, and for myself I am ready to kiss even the pavement of the church, or the doorpost of the outer porch, or the feet of the clergy; still, there is a wide difference between an occasional spontaneous act and a formal prescribed ceremony; and, as men are, it may be doubted whether more harm or good is done by the general mass of such observances, especially when there are many of them.

Ph. When people are pious, how can you in that case think the usage an abuse or mischief? There was

indeed a time when they had here in Russia an undue and superstitious attachment to their *Icons*, but the clergy now warn them against such abuse.

A. But surely the people may have a feeling of religion without sound judgment; it is not as if we could secure generally a high standard of enlightened piety; hence I am driven back to the Fathers; what do *they* say? And again, what say the Nestorians? And again, what say the Armenians? The Nestorians hand down to us the custom of the fifth century, and the Armenians in the eleventh and twelfth centuries are spoken of as agreeing in this point with the Germans, and differing from the Greeks and the Italians; moreover, the German, Frankish, and English Churches all rejected the Second Nicene Council without any breach of communion ensuing on that account. St. Augustine, speaking of abuses, says he knew of many Christians who used to kiss (adorare) pictures, and he considers this a weakness.

Ph. I think I can show you proof that there were not only pictures, but *Icons* in the churches at that time in some parts of the East.

A. Certainly, that may be so; but their existence in some Churches, and even the existence of the "weakness," of which St. Augustine speaks, in some Churches, is one thing, and the general prescribed use of external reverence in any part of the ritual is another. Doubt-

less from the very time of the Apostles it was permissible and permitted to the Christians to have both pictures and images; and if they kissed them at any time from spontaneous affection (as we know they honoured the Cross, and the Gospel, and many other holy objects), it was surely no sin in them. There is complete agreement between us as to the principle and the abstract theory or doctrine, the only question which can remain being wholly practical, and open, whatever authorities are adducible, to such reasonable objections and distinctions as the circumstances create.

CHAPTER CXIV.

Discussion Continued.

THE Archimandrite would not take this view of the matter; he proceeded to say why. I cannot, he said, think that it is a matter of so little importance as to lie outside that rule which you admit to be decisive in all principal matters of religion, viz. that "usum non tollit abusus," and that when an abuse occurs or may be apprehended, the clergy should correct or guard against it, without removing the thing abused. Otherwise, where are we? under pretence of abuse, since everything is abused or perverted by one mind or another, the whole outward framework of religion and of the Church runs the risk of a gradual destruction, one thing after another being removed as an abuse.

A. We certainly think that in this particular case it is indeed best for us in England to be rid of the formal usage altogether; but still we need not say or think that, as things are now in Russia, it would be desirable

or right, even if it were possible, to remove this or the like custom. But if we had lived in the eighth or ninth century, we might have thought twice before we consented to its introduction. However, there is manifestly a great difference between the general temper and habits of the Eastern and Russian and the Western and German people, and such ecclesiastical usages may be much more natural among you than they would be among us, and more consistent with your domestic and civil life than they are with ours. You have a warmth and impulsiveness which is ever expressing itself outwardly; you are for ever bowing and kissing each other, and it would be strange indeed if you stopped short of that in your bearing toward the visible representations of our Lord, His Mother, and His saints, which you instance in almost everything else; but we are bare, cold, reserved in our daily life and in our religious ceremonial, and to teach our people the necessity or even profit of crossing, bowing, lighting lights before pictures, and kissing them as a part of Christianity, would repel them as a superstition and absurdity, so utterly are we without your temper.

Ph. What you have said may have its weight, but whether or not, it does not apply to what especially struck me in your book, your dispensing with Invocation of Saints; this cannot be resolved into a mere accidental or national characteristic, but is an ethical and

religious defect. Without raising the importance or necessity of "Bonum est invocare sanctos," to the level of those fundamental and indispensable articles which are contained in the Creed, still it is legitimately and necessarily connected with them; and how then can you write, as I see here written, that it would not be heresy to deny it?

A. If any one denies it so as to deny "The Communion of Saints," it is indeed heresy; but if a man denies it only practically, it will be at worst only a hurtful neglect, mistake, ignorance or prejudice.

Ph. But even so, if the whole of Christian piety would be mutilated by such neglect, which from omission would soon grow to ignorance, to rejection, and condemnation, and even to malice, must not the Church teach the people clearly and strongly what conduces to their salvation?

A. There seems to be a close affinity between the doctrine of the Invocation of Saints and that of prayer for the departed, when both are rightly understood. Both are the offspring of natural sentiment and reasonable influence. Neither is matter of express revelation or commandment, nor, strictly speaking, part of the Faith. They do not seem, however, to stand exactly on the same level, for the Apostolicity and Catholicity of prayer for the departed has much earlier and stronger proof for it than any form of address to the spirits of

departed Saints or to the Angels, since they are the acts of natural piety, and no shadow of Apostolical Tradition can be adduced as forbidding this use. We must then place them among those observances, as to which individuals have liberty, and the Church authority. We cannot, indeed, conceive a Christian having faith in the Communion of Saints who has not also implicitly in his heart both prayer for the departed and Invocation of the Saints, that is, prayer for all those who can be prayed for, and prayer with all those who pray.

Ph. Well and piously said. The Lutherans, however, having misunderstood the matter from the first, have brought things to that pass, that now every Invocation is for them an impiety, and the consequence is that those habits of mind, of affection, of humility, of faith in the Communion of Saints, are no longer formed in them, which the frequent use of Invocation is intended to develope. Especially there seems to me to be a strong bearing of pride in the tone and manner in which Protestants will have none but our Lord to do anything for them. All most surely is in Christ, and apart from Him nothing can be good or profitable either in ourselves or in others; but yet surely in the unity of His Spiritual Body it is a good and salutary thing to feel we can be aided, and to be disposed and look to be aided one by another. It is good, and greatly

tending to humility, and really to Christ's glory, to submit ourselves one to another, to reverence, honour, and esteem the holiness and spiritual rank of others higher than our own, all in the spirit of love, in unity of Christ, and the true faith and fear of God. Now, I repeat, I think there is something very like pride in the way in which the Lutherans refuse help from any created being, but only directly from Christ, and cannot bring themselves to the humility of saying, "O most Holy Mother of God, save us."

CHAPTER CXV.

Mr. Palmer's reflections on his discussion with the Rector; his return to Moscow.

THE Archimandrite spoke more to the same effect, and his Anglican guest replied in his own line of argument, as above; but what has already been set down may seem to the reader sufficient. For myself I fear, on reflecting upon what passed between us, that the Protestant assertion—I mean that prayers to the Saints are derogatory to the glory of the One Mediator and lower the religious temper—is not quite borne out by our experience. That is, the rejection of the prayers of departed Saints, and of the habit of expressing the wish of being benefited by them, has not increased in us a disposition to think much of the prayers of the living, or of prayer itself, or that humility, which thinks of others as better and nearer to God than ourselves. I will add that I was much struck when I first came into Russia, how much more the national character seemed to be tinctured with humility, bro-

therly kindness, and warm feeling, as well as reverence for holy things and religious faith, than our own is. I knew of course before I came here, that we could be accused of pride and *egoisme*, but I had no idea of the extent of the evil till I was here, and saw the contrast. One captain in the American service (they are our children) observed to the Government that it did not seem to him consistent with the dignity of a democratic citizen to follow the universal custom to take off his hat on meeting the Emperor. "However," said he, "the Emperor met me in the street and saved me the trouble of deciding the question, for he took off his own hat to me. I suppose he saw I was a stranger." In the "Handbook for Northern Europe," the author, speaking of the Nicholas Gate of the Kremlin, which it is customary to pass bareheaded, says, "Many Englishmen have *made a point of honour* of walking on as if ignorant of the custom, until stopped by the sentinel." I have sometimes asked members of the Established Church whether they conformed on some occasion with this or that innocent or Catholic usage, and have been answered with a smile or a sneer—"Not I." But it is enough to have suggested a thought when it admits of numberless illustrations.

On this day, June 3 [N.S.], I took leave and returned to Moscow, having attended early Liturgy in the Metropolitan's private chapel, and received from the

Rector, as a present from his own library, a copy of Zoanikoff's "Treatise on the Procession," "The Theology of Theophanes Protopovich," and a volume of "Historical Dissertations on various Heresies and Schisms," which have appeared in Russia since its reception of Christianity.

I started at about half-past nine, and arrived at Moscow about seven p.m., nearly shaken to pieces, having neglected to provide myself with a mattress. The same evening I proceeded to call on Mr. Camidge, and received from him my letters from home.

CHAPTER CXVI.

His polemical encounter with the Princess Meshchersky.

HAVING on Friday, the 4th [N.S.], called in vain upon the Proto-presbyter of the Assumption, I called the next day with Mr. Camidge upon the old Princess Meshchersky,[1] a lady who was reclaimed from scepticism by Dr. Pinkerton, then agent to the British and Foreign Bible Society in Russia. She made me give her a long historical account of the English Church since the time of Henry VIII.; but I have set down in form of dialogue portions of two conversations which I had with her, and I here give them at length, as illustrating the sort of liberal Evangelicalism of which there have been traces above in my memoranda of conversations with Russians, especially with religious and educated ladies. The initial letters *A.* and *L.* shall stand respectively for Anglican and Lady.

L. Tell me what is the new sect in England which

[1] [*Vide supra*, pp. 284, 402.]

wants to destroy the Established Church? Are you a member of it? I heard from Petersburg that you wished to communicate in our Church. Why so? It is impossible. Neither you nor any number of you can make union.

A. No, perhaps not; yet our actions may be such as to promote or to hinder it; the greatest of forces being after all only a multiple of the most minute.

L. I believe in the inner or essential Church, which is agreeable to the Bible, and as for particular outward Churches, none of them are perfect. Even in the Apostles' time there were divisions and very different spiritual states in different Churches.

A. But the Church was one in visible and outward communion for 1200 years, and may yet be so again.

L. That is a beautiful dream. The thing is utterly impossible. The division came in the first instance from the moral corruption and evil passions of Christians. These have ever since increased one's conviction that division and acquiescence in it is a necessity almost with the structure of society. The original division itself has been reproduced and multiplied. No, there can be no end of it till Christ comes, and, scarcely finding faith on the earth, shall rebuild the inward and heavenly polity. There is the Roman Catholic communion; it has its faults; so far as it has the essential faith it is very good; but, so far as men have added to

it and corrupted it, it is bad. You have your Anglican Church, you have made confusion in many things, but you have what is necessary; and what do you want more? The Church of Russia, the Greek Church, has been changed and corrupted less than the Papal Church, only, as seems to me, because its circumstances have been different, and its Prelates have not been tempted, as the Roman, by riches and dominion; and yet certainly it has its faults, too. Men have introduced into it their additions and inventions. There is the Adoration of the Saints.

A. I do not like that word, which, you know, is ambiguous.

L. Well, "worship," if you like.

A. "Worship" is ambiguous too. All such words are ambiguous, whether in Latin, or Greek, or Hebrew, or English, or in Russ. The Jews are said in Scripture and its versions to "worship" God and the King. Coming to the thing itself in contrast to the sense of words, I go so far to agreeing with you as to admit that abuses exist which require correction; but the argument that there is only one Mediator is thoroughly Protestant, and is unworthy the tongue of an orthodox Russian.

L. Well, is there not only one?

A. Certainly there is only one, in the strict and absolute sense. Every Christian knows that; but *in*

this one only Mediator, in Christ, not apart from Him, but in a secondary sense, we are all mediators one for another.

L. To be sure we are; I quite admit that, because it is in the Bible.

A. And the Apostle Paul, in the very verses immediately before, "exhorts that first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions be made for all men;" but what are intercessions but mediations? and what are intercessors but mediators?

L. To be sure, to be sure!

A. Well, then, it is right both to pray for others and to desire that they should pray for us.

L. I grant it.

A. And the more any one is eminent, either for his place in this Church, or for sanctity, so much more should we value and desire his prayers.

L. I agree.

A. If then "the effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much" here below, so much, according to St. James, as even to change the course of nature and to work miracles, does it avail less when his righteousness is perfected in heaven?

L. I admit all that you have said, and all besides that you can say of this sort.

A. Well then, if, in contemplating the Communion of Saints, we must naturally feel comfort in the

thought of their praying for us, so that our will and feeling unite with theirs, and wish them to do that which they are in fact doing, it follows that to express this wish outwardly in words whenever we are naturally and actually moved to do so, can scarcely be wrong. And even irrespective of any ulterior effect, to ask the prayers of the saints may be to a certain extent a means towards our having them—that is, towards cultivating in ourselves that communion and union of spirit, without which we can obtain neither general nor particular benefit from their prayers for us. If so, it will be not only natural and innocent, but positively useful to seek the help of the saints now reigning with Christ, no less than the help of those who are still on earth.

Further, I conceive this may be done in two ways—one, when the mind, speaking to God and Christ in prayer, partly in faith and love, partly in humility and self-abasement, offers the prayers of others who are better and stronger than ourselves—not as if there were other mediators than Christ, but, as touching in them Christ's seamless Robe, the hem of His garment, of which we are unworthy to be a part; and, secondly, when we address the Saints themselves with direct, poetical, rhetorical, and spiritual invocations—not as if they were naturally or bodily present to hear us, but as

speaking to them (if not in form yet in sense), only *in* Christ and *in* God, who may give us for our addresses the same benefit as if the Saints were naturally present to hear. May we not safely say this?

CHAPTER CXVII.

Encounter with the Princess continued.

SHE did not attempt to meet these observations directly, but went on thus :—

L. But surely you agree with me that there are things in our received worship and ritual which are faulty?

A. Yes, we must confess that when the services of the Church are filled with invocations, and there is a stated *cultus*, not only for the Saints in general, but also for each Saint individually, and for particular *Icons*, there may be danger of gross misunderstandings and abuse among the common people. It does not seem that in the earliest and best ages of the Church, when there would have been far less[1] danger of misunderstandings and of abuses, there existed any such efflorescence of saint worship and Icon worship, as is

[1] [*Less* danger? surely *greater*. The prevalence and the habit of idolatry in paganism may have been the sufficient reason why image worship was not allowed or even thought of.]

now embodied in your ritual. And now you have neither the holy discipline nor the frequent communion of the primitive Church, which are the true practical bonds and safeguards of the communion of saints. One might be pardoned then for wishing that everything of the kind, at least of comparatively late introduction, should be retrenched or modified. Enough might still remain, both of indirect and direct invocation, to keep up the sense of communion with the saints in heaven.

L. Perhaps it would be unnecessary to make omissions; a little verbal alteration would suffice. But why, since you agree with me in thinking that everywhere are faults and things to alter, why do you seek to quit one particular Church for another? It is only changing this set of faults for that. The true essential faith of the Bible is the same in all alike.

A. I do not wish to leave the English Church for the Russian, but to unite the two.

We ought by no means to quit our own Church, merely because it has faults, so long as we believe it to be a portion of the True Church; and no one can do so without sin. But what do you mean by "particular churches," and, "the faith of the Bible, which is the same in all of them"? We believe there is only one Church, and that visible, as well as invisible.

L. Where then, and which is the Church?

A. Ask in every country, and they will point it out to you, even sectaries; the Roman Church, at Rome; the English, in England; the Russian, in Russia: or, if anywhere there seems to be a doubtful claim to the title, you can run over the epithets of the true Church, such as Orthodox, Catholic, Apostolic, and the like; and you may ask which is the old original Church in any country. Or, again, historically, we see and trace the unity of the whole body for 1100 or 1200 years; and, in spite of the superficial quarrel and division between them we see still traces of three Apostolical Communions, which down to that division were one; and which, if the quarrel is only superficial, are one in truth and by right still. But if you include in your idea of the visible Church all those sects which set up the Bible against the Church or rather, their own pretended right and duty to judge and teach against the duty and right of the Church to teach and judge, and their private and particular sense of Scripture against her Apostolic and Catholic interpretation, then any true Anglican must differ from you.

L. I mean nothing of the kind: the Bible says nothing of the right of disobedience, or of human churches. The formation and governance of the Church is said, in the Bible, to be by Apostolical mission and authority; the Church teaches, but now, if you please, tell me you, on the other hand, what you mean when

you speak of the faith and teaching of these portions of it, which you recognize as Apostolical. What is that faith and teaching in which these portions agree?

A. It would take a long time to enumerate to you all the points of agreement. They all agree in all the Articles of the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed; and, on the whole, in the Church and Sacraments, so as to guard against the heresies of Protestantism. Again, Christians must have been baptized, and must persevere in the four things stated towards the end of the second chapter of the Acts.

L. Yes, that is all in the Bible; I am quite of your mind. If this is your Church and Religion, I am in a manner a member of it. But stay; what about agreement in other matters? can you restore unity in them? Now that it has been so long broken it is impossible.

A. At all events, we may each do our duty, personally, towards its restoration.

L. The reading of the Bible has, no doubt, produced faults, errors, schisms, and confusion among you; and so it will among us, yet I am not afraid. There cannot be light and improvement without it.

A. Why must it be so in Russia? Why should not Russia profit by the experience of the West, and avoid any such confusion?

L. It cannot be otherwise.

A. Now that we, in England, have seen the extreme

developments of the evil, there is manifesting itself a tendency to reconstruction; and the same Bible religion, which has done so much mischief, will be efficient help in repairing it.

L. To be sure; that is intelligible enough; so it may be in time with us, but we must have the confusion first.

A. I hope not.

L. How can it be avoided?

A. Perhaps, before things come to that pass, a union may be effected between our and your Church. We, having gone through it all, are rebuilding a Catholic theology out of the ruins of a decomposed Protestantism; and, if so, union with us would be your antidote. Besides, no such opposition between the Bible and authority has been suspected in your Church, as was the case in the Latin.

L. No such union as that you speak of can be effected till we have had the confusion, and till we have such a further degree of enlightenment as can only be gained at the expense of confusion. At present, the people are so blindly attached to the externals of their rite, that they would make fresh schisms by millions; not only if any the least particle were altered, but also as surely, supposing any union were made with bodies or persons.

A. Perhaps a union need not be such as to bring

practically before public notice any such innovation as it involved. What could they know about it, if the Armenians were reconciled to-morrow? Nay, the Uniats are already reconciled, who have priests and bishops without beards, and yet no popular rising.

L. The thing is impossible.

A. As for ourselves, the recent changes, by means of which the sects, Protestant and Popish, have become active, political factions against the Church, have turned to the Church's benefit. She has risen in public estimation under the attacks of her enemies, and has suggested the idea, and the desire, of a return to unity.

L. I am prepared to believe it, and am glad that it should be so.

CHAPTER CXVIII.

Conflict with the Princess renewed.

JUNE 8 [N.S.].—Had some further conversation with Madame Meshchersky. After speaking against prayers for the departed as useless, for their state for heaven or hell is already fixed once for all, she passed on to speak of the books I had lent her. One was "Plain Sermons" by contributors to the "Tracts for the Times." "I have been reading," she said, "with much pleasure those sermons. I mean to translate some of them into Russ, and have them printed. Here is a book I have lately had translated and printed, 'Baxter's Saints' Rest.'" She showed it to me, with a frontispiece representing the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, surrounded by saints and angels. Do the censors pass such a book as this? I asked.

L. They make what change they please, but such are generally slight, nothing to signify.

A. Yet it must be difficult to make a book written

on a principle of false doctrine fit for the use of an orthodox Christian.

L. As for me, I see no difference between the theology of the "Plain Sermons" and the books of English Dissenters. The Protestants are right, I think, in calling all that body of religion, which you defend as common to the Apostolical churches, by the name of "Popery;" and we, with our Russian or Greek Church, are in fact Popish too. We differ with Rome about the *Procession*, and some other things which I cannot understand. You are yourself a Papist, who wish to bring out one element existing in the Church of England to the exclusion of the rest, and so you detect in Anglican books the minutest admixture of contrary principles, because it is that you look for. For my part I read the books of devotion of both classes of writers alike, and see no differences because I look for none.

A. Nevertheless, it is easy to see that your reading has lain chiefly with sectarian writers, and that your ideas and language are much tinged by their peculiar, and, as we believe, most erroneous opinions.

L. I confess that I turned my attention to religion late, and that I owe all my knowledge of it to English books, and those the books of Dissenters. Nearly all the English we have seen here in Russia, or heard anything of, have been Dissenters. Very few indeed

have been of the Established Church, and so we know little about it. (On a later day she said) I am more and more pleased with the "Plain Sermons." They are to be translated immediately. There is not a word in them will require to be changed; they will pass the censors as they are.

A. You have discovered, then, that they are not quite the same thing as those of your friends the Dissenters?

L. No; I see no difference. In these books you have given me there are no invocations of the Virgin and the Saints.

A. No, that is quite true; and our Church has omitted all such addresses from her offices, and discountenanced them in individuals, on account of former abuse; but that does not prove that they may not be taken in an orthodox and harmless sense in other Churches, and you could not expect to find anything of that kind in "plain" sermons.

L. No; but what surprises me is, that I have looked into the other book, Bishop Andrewes's "Private Devotions," which you gave me, and find nothing of the kind there either; yet this is a book of the High Church.

A. Neither there would you have much reason to expect it, but rather if at all, in hymns, anthems, in the poetical part of the variable services, which ser-

vices, however, to tell the truth, are almost altogether wanting in the Anglican Church. And, besides that, our writers accommodate themselves to popular prejudices, and confine themselves, even the few who know better, to what the shattered fabric and mutilated offices of their Church seem to justify in the eyes of a Calvinized people, who take them for an absolute measure of fulness and perfection, if not even a little too Popish already. But in Bishop Andrewes's Devotions you will find the real presence, confession and absolution, prayer for the departed, and comprecation with the saints, which is the germ of their invocation. Indeed, one passage in his Prayers, taken from the lesser *ectenia* of your own offices, seems to contain an indirect invocation.

L. I may admit all you say in the abstract about Invocation; but, with regard to the absence of such usages from your Anglican offices, though you blame it, and talk of the rudeness with which abuses and excesses were corrected, I think, on the contrary, that to mince matters (faire des délicatesses) in such questions is all one with doing nothing. Such a mode of reformation would be entirely inefficient. For my part, I think your Church in England the best of all churches precisely for the reason that she has been reformed.

A. As for that, some of us think that she has rather

been *de*formed than *re*formed, though, only secondary developments and excrescences having been cleared off and life remaining, free room has been left for the roots to grow again, and sprout and bud forth, and that in a more healthy manner, as soon as we have the grace to leave off contemplating with pitiable complacency the havoc we have made, and seriously return with repentance to God and to the Church, which He alone founded, and which He alone can reform.

L. Well, I am in some measure a member of the same Church with you; though I think external unity impossible, and though, while believing an essential and invisible unity to subsist under divided parts, and looking for it there, I cannot stop short at the bounds of that Apostolical hierarchy, divided into dioceses, which you insist upon, but feel obliged to take in more or less the sects also, not defending, however, their errors.

CHAPTER CXIX.

The Jesuit Fathers and the Bible Society.

JUNE 10 [N.S.].—My visit to Moscow was now coming to an end. On this day I sat long with the Princess Meshchersky, who told me that the supporters of the Bible Society, English and American, have for a long time had a tract society and shop at Petersburg, and appear to have been very active, though a good deal of their mischief must have been corrected in passing through the Censura; still, no Russians seem to have any notion how subtle a poison is concealed and mingled with every portion of the enlightened zeal, or zeal for enlightenment, which they possess. We see in what it issues in the opinions avowed by the lady who allowed me to converse with her, and I take leave of her now in this narrative, with some notice of the foreign influences which have of late years acted upon educated Russians of the Orthodox Church.

Madame Meshchersky was the victim, as I must

call her, of one of two religious movements against the Orthodox Church within the last century, which were caused or promoted by two antagonistic bodies, and of which there are traces in the foregoing pages, the Jesuits and the Bible Society. Each had success for a time, but at length, first one and then the other was violently ejected from the country, as soon as the court and hierarchy came to see, how each in its own way was opposed to the ecclesiastical traditions and the popular sentiments of Russia. Without some mention of them as of elements lately, or even now, in action under the surface of the national religion, these memoranda of what I found there would be but one-sided; in order to remedy this defect, I here avail myself of passages, with some abridgment (which indeed, before quitting England, I read to Dr. Routh), from the work of Dr. Pinkerton, the foreign agent of the Bible Society, entitled "Russia," and published in 1833.

CHAPTER CXX.

Success in Russia and Expulsion thence of the Jesuit Fathers.

"I REACHED Polotsk," says Dr. Pinkerton, "then the chief seat of the Jesuits, June 1, 1820. Entering their elegant church, I found upwards of 200 boys, mostly sons of the nobility of the surrounding country, kneeling on the stone pavement. By a late order the Jesuits had been forbidden to teach any who were not of their own Church. This order, however, was not issued before the Government had had sad proofs of the influence they had gained over the minds of many, both young and old, belonging to the Greek communion. Among others, a nephew of Prince Alexander Galitsin, who was a boarder in their seminary at Petersburg, became a Catholic. At this time (1815) it was found that a considerable number of ladies of rank had also imbibed from them sentiments unfavourable to the Greek Church. In order to counteract these opinions, and to bring back the stray sheep, the present Metropolitan of Moscow, Philaret,

then Archimandrite and Professor of Theology in the Nefsky Academy, wrote a 'Comparison between the Doctrines of the Greek and Romish Churches,' a copy of which he gave me in MS., with permission to publish it.

"In this 'Comparison' he lays down as the doctrine of the Eastern Church that 'the only pure and all-sufficient source of the doctrines of faith is the revealed word of God, contained *now* in the Scriptures' . . . . 'everything necessary to salvation is stated in the Holy Scriptures with such clearness, that every one reading it with a sincere desire to be enlightened can understand it.' He adds, 'An enlightened interpreter of Holy Scripture is doubtless very desirable for Christians less instructed, but the idea that, in order to draw from it the articles of faith, a certain kind of despotic interpreter is necessary, lowers the dignity of the word of God and subjects faith to the will of man.' Again, 'Every one has not only a right, but it is his bounden duty to read the Holy Scripture in a language which he understands.' "

Having gone through all the nineteen articles of this "Comparison," Dr. Pinkerton continues, with some abridgment, as follows: "In publishing this interesting document from the pen of a pupil of the late Metropolitan of Moscow, Platon, whose system of divinity I translated and published in 1814, and whose principles

are still taught in the Russian Spiritual Schools, I do not mean to insinuate that the Russian people, or even many of the lower clergy, possess such distinct views as Philaret of the leading doctrines of the Gospel. The people are still illiterate, and sunk in ignorance and superstition to a degree scarcely credible."

That, however, he considers, does not destroy the favourable aspect of the future which Platon and Philaret open upon us. Platon brings forth the grand antidote against all these errors in principle and practice, when he says, "We must hold to the Divine Word alone, and rest assured that it only contains the true rules by which we ought to please God; and therefore Christ said concerning the Holy Scriptures, that in them is contained eternal life." Dr. Pinkerton continues, "That such a principle is unhesitatingly admitted by Platon, Philaret, and many thousands of the clergy, who have been trained in the Spiritual Academies and Seminaries under them, opens a door of hope for the gradual advancement of purer religious worship among the Russians, and how far this desirable object has been promoted by Bible Societies in that empire future generations will be more able to estimate than the present.

"Philaret's 'comparative view' did not, I believe, change the mind of young Galitsin, for whom especially it was written; but no doubt the discovery made at that

time of the depredations committed by the Jesuits upon the national Church, the fanatical Popish sentiments instilled into the nephew of the Minister for Spiritual Affairs, and the opposition which they made to the dissemination of the Holy Scriptures, hastened their final expulsion from the empire in the year 1820."

According to Dr. Pinkerton, at that time their number in Russia amounted to 674, and in 1816 they had houses in Petersburg, Moscow, Mohilef, Astrachan, Odessa, and other places, not to speak of such Fathers as were scattered about as domestic teachers and residents in families. In Polotsk their establishment was splendid, and attached to it were 11,000 serfs and extensive territories. The *oukaz*, he tells us, which expelled them from the empire, "never more to return under any name or character," was dated March 13, 1820, and by it their whole property was confiscated, and applied to the benefit of the Roman Catholic Church in Russia.

CHAPTER CXXI.

Success in Russia and Expulsion thence of the Bible Society.

THE Bible Societies, before many years had passed, shared the fate of the Jesuits; and Dr. Pinkerton, who shows no compassion for the misfortunes of the latter, is full of indignation when a like mishap overtakes his own friends. An attempt to establish them was first made through Dr. Pinkerton, in the year 1811, when the Princess Sophia Meshchersky, whose conversations with me have been the occasion of this digression, took up their cause and promoted the formation of a Bible Society; and the project was realized January 23, 1813, by the permission of the Emperor Alexander, who himself became a member,—his Minister, Prince Alexander Galitsin, being the President. In A.D. 1814, affiliated or auxiliary Bible Societies were formed all over the empire, till there were as many as 289 of them, and they continued during the remaining twelve years of Alexander's reign. Concerning the causes which led to their

suspension or suppression in the first years of the Emperor Nicholas, Dr. Pinkerton, towards the end of his volume, writes thus:—

"In the latter part of the reign of the Emperor Alexander a strong party was formed at Petersburg against the Bible Society. Its principles and labours were too sacred not to meet with opposition. . . The opposition . . was . . not, as has been supposed, from any change in his own mind. . . His mind was perpetually harassed by the abominable falsehoods, the wicked insinuations, and the base intrigues of this powerful though heterogeneous party, which at last obliged the noble, indefatigable, benevolent, and pious President of the Society, the Prince Alexander Galitsin, to resign the Presidency. This was then conferred upon the aged Metropolitan Seraphim, under whose guidance some hoped that the institution would be permitted to prosecute its usual labours. But Seraphim himself, with several other Prelates, and one or two fanatical monks, had for some years entertained unfriendly feelings towards the institution; and the latter had zealously spread their insinuations even among the better disposed classes of the Russian nobility. The circulation of the Scriptures, so extensive throughout the empire, for nearly half a million copies had already been sent forth from the depôts of the Society, had produced among the

people in different provinces effects which seemed suspicious to the lovers of ignorance, error, and superstition; and these gave rise to numerous communications to the Committee in Petersburg, and to the Government, from the enemies of the cause in the provinces, filled with surmises, exaggerations, and falsehoods, until by these combined influences the Russian Bible Society was gradually crushed, notwithstanding the protection of its imperial friends. . .

"Large supplies, however, of the Bible in the Slavonic and other languages, with the New Testament and Psalms in modern Russ, continued to be sold by the Synod at fixed prices.

"And on the 14th of March, 1831, a new Bible Society exclusively for the Protestants of the Russian Empire was formed at Petersburg with the sanction of the present Emperor, . . but is nothing more to be done for the thirty-six millions of native Russians to supply them with the Scriptures in the vernacular tongue?" So far Dr. Pinkerton; now I return to my narrative.

CHAPTER CXXII.

Visit to New Jerusalem.

I MUST not omit here some notice, however short, of my visit to the celebrated monastery of the Resurrection in New Jerusalem (Voskresensk) founded by the patriarch Nicon. It is about forty-five versts to the westward of Moscow, and I started on Saturday, June 12 [N.S], at nine a.m. in a hired *calèche* with four horses abreast. After passing the barrier and going some distance on the Petersburg road, we turned off to the left over dry ruts and tracks rather than a road, and we passed three country houses of some importance. There was a good deal of swelling hills and extensive plain ground; but not much wood, nor very much ploughed land. In the villages (there were several) we saw nice-looking white churches with green roofs, a bell-tower like ours at the west end, a *trapeza*, or nave, of the same width as the sanctuary, which was square, a dome over the centre of the church, surmounted by a small spire or with the cross

and a semicircular apse eastwards. The monastery itself, which was the object of my journey, is very prettily situated on a hill, with groves around and below it, and a winding river; and it became my object, because its sacred buildings were a model of the holy places at Jerusalem. The approach is by a long avenue of trees; its walls are from twenty-five to thirty feet high, and rise finely out of the hill, with eight or nine good-looking towers at intervals, and another of rather fantastic appearance, higher than the rest.

I was shown over the church, and by the help of Mouravieff's Pilgrim's map for the holy places, I compared the church with its original in Jerusalem, with which it seemed to correspond very nearly, so that one may, as it were, visit all the holy places which are contained under one roof at Jerusalem, without leaving the neighbourhood of Moscow. I was shown all the different chapels; only, when we came to those of the Copt and the Armenian, the monk who conducted me, pointing to the first, said, "And here the Lutherans celebrate the washing of the feet on Maundy Thursday, and this is the chapel of the Calvinists." I attempted to set him right, but he persisted. "Yes, yes, it is so; all the Christian confessions have their place of worship here."

He showed me also the unfinished representation

of the church at Bethlehem, and the model in wood, brought from Palestine by order of Nicon, from which he built this church. Lastly he showed me the pillar or tower, and cell of Nicon in a fair meadow adjoining, and his stone bed or pillow, and, under the Calvary in the church the bare and unhonoured (by any public honour unhonoured) tomb of the same great patriarch, dark and damp, or rather wet. However, there were one or two peasants crossing themselves and kissing it, and I felt it a privilege to join them in doing the same. Next morning, being with them All Saints' day, I heard early Liturgy in the chapel of St. Mary Magdalene, and returned to Moscow.

CHAPTER CXXIII.

Farewell Interviews with the Metropolitan and the Princess.

THE Metropolitan Philaret, whose name and zeal for the doctrine of the sufficiency of Scripture-teaching are prominent in Dr. Pinkerton's memorandum, had now left the Troitsa for Moscow, and I called on him on that Sunday, to take my leave. I had but a few hours returned from the interesting convent of New Jerusalem.

I began by expostulating with him for the ambiguity of the formal answer which he made to my application to him for communion, by using "Orthodox" church for "Oriental." On this point we had many words, and to me he appeared, in so speaking, to be confusing the part with the whole; so, leaving it, I went on to ask him about the annual miracle at Jerusalem, of the holy fire, which is said to descend into the Holy Sepulchre on the great Sabbath. What was the accredited belief of his church about it? for I had several times in Russia, and only yesterday

at the New Jerusalem, heard it spoken of as universally believed, whereas the Franks, and most men whom we see or read in the West, speak of it as a most impudent and wicked imposture. He answered, "I know that the Latins do not believe it, and, to be sure, it may be said that, if it be a fraud, it is a safe one, for it is not public, and there are no witnesses of it. Only the Archbishop himself, who enters the tomb, testifies to it. On the other hand, if it is a fraud, the Archbishop must be guilty of it, and it seems to be a great difficulty to suppose a whole succession of the highest prelates of the Church conspiring to keep up an imposture." I said that certainly what took place was either a most signal token of Divine favour given to the Greek communion, or the most daring and profane wickedness. I said that unhappily it would not be the first instance of a false miracle. He said it would be much easier to counterfeit the liquefaction of St. Januarius's blood, and he seemed to establish a greater probability, from its nature and purpose, in the miracle of the Holy Fire. Also the liquefaction often does not take place.[1] "All I can tell you," he said, "is this, that some years ago a Russian, a plain, simple man, gave us an account of what he had seen in the

[1] [If the liquefaction is not in the power of the priest who is in charge of the relic, then rather is it in the hands of a higher agent, be it a natural or a supernatural.]

holy places, and among other things he related that, at the moment when the Archbishop was in the sepulchre, and the miracle was taking place, he observed one or two candles outside the tomb light themselves."

This was my farewell interview with the Metropolitan Philaret, viz. on Sunday, June 13 [N.S.]. The next day I took leave of the Princess. The same day I had gone to the Kremlin, and saw the old palace, which lately has been beautifully restored and furnished in its former style. The apartments are small, the roofs low and arched, with a kind of obtuse Gothic. All is admirably in keeping. We also saw the treasury and the regalia of Vladimir Monomachus.

CHAPTER CXXIV.

Return to Petersburg—Conversations with Priests Vasili and Stratelatoff.

I WAS at Petersburg by Thursday, June 17 [N.S.]. On the 18th I was at Cronstadt, and the Priest Vasili expressed himself delighted with the book of Bishop Beveridge in defence of the Apostolical Canons, which Mr. Blackmore had lent him. He said there was altogether a different spirit among us from what there is among the Lutherans; that he could say himself from what he had seen of them.

On the evening of Tuesday the 22nd [N.S.] I called on the Priest Stratelatoff of the Isaac Church. He showed me the Greek copy of the XVIII. Articles of Bethlehem, which has recently been printed here by the Synod, in which I observed that the passage on Transubstantiation had the assertion that the substance no longer remained, but that only the body of Christ was in the species and type of the bread; but the word accidents did not appear,[1] as I think it does in

[1] [Nor does the word "accidents" occur in the Tridentine canons and capita.]

the original, at the end of the sentence. I explained to him our doctrine on this point, and difference from Rome. He said it seemed to him to be a question no ways pertaining to edification or to piety. He had said before that, for some time they disputed with the Latins about the novelty of the word "transubstantiation," but at length, and that now long ago, they received it as meaning the same thing as conversion, transmutation, &c. When I had pointed out to him the real question about the mode, he quite assented to the idea that it is best to say nothing about it; that the words of their liturgies were sufficient. He did not deny the inconsistency of the Catechism of Mogila and the XVIII. Articles with themselves on this point, nor the difference of language which may be traced in Russian authors in consequence; but for himself he thought that the Fathers used various and contradictory language on this point. He asked me if I was content with my journey to Russia, and what I had gained from it. I spoke of the Second Nicene Council. It would be impossible to make the kissing of pictures or images necessary and resting on a General Council, seeing that we had never canonically received but rejected the Second Nicene. He asked if there was any chance of my returning. I said it was more likely I should go to Chaldea to see if the Nestorian Offices were as full as theirs of Invocations.

Wednesday, June 23 [N.S.].—Saw Fortunatoff, who told me that Professor Bozolubsky was with him yesterday, and seemed to know the English Church admirably well, and told him that the Metropolitan could not do otherwise than answer me by ambiguities, as he was not at all acquainted with the English Church.

CHAPTER CXXV.

Visit to M. and Mde. Potemkin at Gortilitsa.

THURSDAY, June 24.—At ten started in a *calèche* for Gortilitsa, about fifty versts distant. It belonged once to the Empress Elizabeth. The house, or houses, connected by a verandah, surrounded a very large court, with a tuft of garden or shrubbery in the middle. The gardens on the other side were in English style, with a deep valley, a trout stream, cascades, fountains, grottoes, and lakes (sometimes three visible at once), hills and woods. Nothing could be prettier; and on the side by which I approached there was a very neat and large church. In the village there are about 500 souls, but the church is common to this and another people about one and a half versts off. The whole population to whom the church belongs is 1500. 500 is the lowest number which has a claim to have a church of its own, and very frequently two or three villages have only one church between them. I found the family in mourning for

the recent death of the Princess Ousoupoff, my host's mother. There was liturgy every morning. We had breakfast in the alcove immediately after, but without eggs, butter, or cream, on account of the fast. Vespers were about seven, and the bell went for matins at about seven in the morning.

The day before my arrival they killed a huge bear, shooting him as he was splashing the water into his face in the lake. The hills all round the village were covered with beds of strawberries, which the villagers take to Petersburg in great quantities to sell. The woods also abound with them wild. They have several villages on their property. One village was a colony of Lutheran Finns. Some of the villagers are free, being allowed by their master and mistress to purchase their freedom at an easy rate; but this makes only an ideal difference between them and the rest, for some of them, who are still slaves, pay a fixed annual sum to their masters, and then work for themselves, or hire out their labour for what it may be worth; others work for their masters three days in the week. The peasants here are not a very good set. They were very ill-used by the superintendent of the late owner, who got some fifty or sixty of them sent into Siberia for coming one evening to their master from the field, in the hay season, to remonstrate against him, with their pitchforks on their shoulders, which he repre-

sented as an *émeute.* M. Potemkin, at the urgent entreaty of their families, procured from the Emperor the pardon and return of them after seventeen years of absence; but they have since been known to complain that they were better off in Siberia, where they were not treated as convicts, but rather as forced colonists. They owe their lord now between 1000 and 2000 days' work. He provides their wooden cottages for them. They took me a drive in the evening *en ligne*, with four horses abreast, in most classical style, to see two manufactories in the neighbourhood.

CHAPTER CXXVI.

Religious Discussions at Gortilitsa.

NEXT morning, after Liturgy, as we sat in the arcade, the priest came to speak on some matter with Mde. P. He looked seventy, but really is only forty-five. Seeing me sitting in my gown and cassock, and afterwards rise to kiss his hand and ask his blessing, he asked whether I was of their confession of faith. They said that I was an Englishman; to which I added that I was a deacon. He asked me what was the religion or confession of faith of my Church? Was it the same as theirs? Greco-Rossiskaa? I said, "No, by no means; I am a Christian, and my Church not Greco-Russ, but Catholic and Apostolic." He looked inquiringly at Mde. P., and said, "He is then Catholic, and under the Pope. Roman?" I said, "No, neither Roman nor Greco-Russ, but English by country, and for religion only Christian and Catholic, for there is only one Church in all those three countries, and in all the world besides." He looked exceedingly puzzled,

but repeated the text: "For there is one Body, and one Spirit, one Faith, one Lord, one Baptism, &c." M. P. explained to him that 300 years ago the English Church, to which I belonged, was separated from the other Latin Churches.

The same day his youngest child, an infant, was baptized. There was a tin font with two ring handles, and a small napkin passed through one of them, set upon a low, square, wooden stand in the middle of the church, not very far below the end of the carpet representing the *ambo*. The font itself was much like in size and appearance the older and larger fonts in our village churches. It was about two parts full of water. The priest took the child quite naked from the nurse, and plunged it thrice, as he repeated the words, holding it upright, and covering its ears, eyes, and mouth and nostrils with his hand and fingers. He then gave it to the godfather, who received it (instructed by the nurse and godmother) in a large double cloth, which seemed also by gentle pressure to dry its body.

I have forgotten to relate the termination of my conversation with the priest of the parish. He said, "Tell me, what do you think? It seems to me that the great thing for all men is to fear God and do what is right according to their knowledge; if they do this heartily, they may be saved, whatever be their

external rite or opinion." I said, "I do not know; God is great; but the only way of salvation which He has revealed is the True Church." He observed that St. Peter said, "I perceive that in every nation," &c., Acts x. "When I think of the multitude of people, not only Christians who are not of our Church, but also of the Mahometans, Jews, &c., and some of them seemingly very good, I cannot bring myself to think that they all will be condemned for ever." I said, "You are not obliged to think so, only so far as this, if their way is opposed to the True Way, it is the way of death and not of life."

One day, sitting in Mde. P.'s alcove, the Princess of Turkestan said that only they, the Greek or Eastern Christians, were right, as I was speaking of their want of consistency and zeal about the One True Church. Mde. P. also said that there were many who thought so, and wished to see all the Catholics become Greco-Russ." I laughed, and said, "I rather wish, and with all my heart, that all the Greco-Russ may be converted to be Catholic." She smiled and saw her own error of language. A lady who sat by and heard me say so, observed, "It is simpler to be Christian." I supposed her to be a Calvinist or Lutheran, but was greatly surprised to find afterwards that she was herself a Roman Catholic; but her father was English. She, it seems, was no less

surprised at me, and asked Mde. P. what I was, as she had supposed, from my being an Englishman, that her way of speaking would suit my ideas. Mde. P. answered that she supposed I meant that the Church was divided, and that ought to weigh upon our minds, but that it was no less the Church on that account. As far as it could be remedied, the Emperor would be glad enough to do his part; that many, nay all in a manner, were pained at the division, and longed for unity. But who is to decide questions? What concession can each party make—and safely make? An Emperor to engage in it must be a theologian. If there ever was a time when such a thing could have been done, it was during the reign of Alexander, for he seemed to lean to every persuasion by turns.

I read to Mde. P. the first of the two numbers in "Tracts for the Times" on "Reserve." It had pleased me much, and made me wonder at the outcry against it. It struck me that if the Princess Meshchersky would read it and have it translated it would tend to open people's eyes who were now disposed only to cry out for more light, knowledge, &c., to the danger which may and will accompany it, and which she thinks herself inevitable. Mde. had been speaking to me of the force and attractiveness of the principle and doctrine of the Methodists, which puts all else aside, especially the ceremonies, the Saints and the Blessed Virgin, for

a closer and more devoted union with Christ, saying that they put salvation in Him alone. "Certainly," she said, "we have no clear knowledge of this given us in our Church. There is no catechetical instruction. The religion is only handed down, one does not know how; the people learn from one another, and from their customs. It is scarcely possible to give you an idea of the want of religious teaching. Certainly I can say for myself that the doctrine of salvation by Christ alone was new. I see now that it is not, and ought not to be thought, opposed to Church doctrine; but unless it be taught to the people, ceremonies and forms, the *cultus* of the Blessed Virgin and Saints will overshadow it and obscure it.

CHAPTER CXXVII.

Last conversations and partings with Prince Michael and with the Archpriest.

ON Monday, June 28 [N.S.], I went back by Oranienbaum to Petersburg, and next day took leave of Prince Michael. He said he had talked with M. Skreepitsin about unity, and they agreed that it would be a very good thing if the Emperor would build a handsome church in London, and have the services celebrated in English there. I said, "And if he would found and keep a small monastery at Oxford." Skreepitsin had agreed with me in praise of the Archimandrite Philaret. I said, "Nothing can be done by us till we have settled the controversy of life and death among ourselves. When the 'New Sect' gets the ascendency all will be in effect done, but now we can do nothing."

Wednesday, June 30 [N.S].—I saw M. Mouravieff at the Synod, and was invited to be present on Friday to witness the nomination of Athanasius, the Rector of the Seminary to be Bishop of Tomsk.

On Thursday, July 1 [N.S.], I called on, and took leave of the Archpriest Koutnevich, and he talked to me of my visit to Moscow. He hoped I should retain a friendly recollection of the Russian Church after my return to England. I said I could never feel like the Metropolitan of Moscow, who was "*plenissime beatus*" in having the communion of only a part, even though it was the largest part, as the Roman, or the most perfect and purest, as he might think the Eastern.

He said, "We desire unity most heartily, but we cannot, in order to obtain it, make little of those doctrines or rules of conduct which we have received from antiquity." He also said that if, as I seemed to think, the true Church is divided, and the Eastern particular Church perfect or nearly so, so as to be justified in refusing her communion to the Latin and British till they reform, and if the Latin and British, in spite of more or less of error or corruption, have preserved their essential existence, what is left to both parties but to cultivate such friendship and charity on the basis of what we have in common, as may flow from a common desire to be true followers of Christ, and to obtain, if it be His will, eventual unity?

I said, "I think the divided portions of the Church, and divided members too, even individuals, should never rest till they are reconciled, and if your portion of the Church is perfect, it should help ours, which I

freely confess is very imperfect." "How could we be a help to you?" he replied. "For instance," I said, "if you could give communion to members of the Latin and British Churches on the ground of those essentials which they agree with you in holding. If the true Church is really divided, a more fatal error cannot be conceived than this, viz., that the more healthy and perfect part should withdraw, as you now do, from the body; for, by withdrawing, it loses all influence whatever, and makes the case of the rest desperate; whereas, by closely cohering and using its healthy influence upon the rest, it might expel the disease. If, on the other hand, the Latin and British Churches were really apostate in the strictest sense of the word, your withdrawal would be justified indeed, but your want of zeal, energy, and power to evangelize and convert them, and your inconsistency in still virtually acknowledging them to have part in the Church, would be utterly inexcusable and inconceivable."

He said, "Our Church would most willingly do whatever she rightly could for the restoration of unity, which she much desires; and if your Bishops would only write to the Synod, the Synod, I can answer for it, will show every disposition to correspond with them, and consider, and examine, and treat of whatever they propose." I answered, "That does not seem at all

likely, or indeed possible, at present for various reasons, political as well as religious. We have too much to do at home first. I only wish that in the meantime we may on each side cultivate a better and more accurate knowledge of each other."

He suggested also that the Church of England should resume the correspondence of the last century; to which I replied that the present Anglican Established Church could never admit herself to have been represented by the non-juring Bishops, or take up and confirm a correspondence begun by them; the Scottish indeed perhaps might. But there was, I said, in my opinion, a radical fault in that correspondence, in this, that it assumed essential division to exist, and proposed a vague treaty for concessions; whereas our best and simplest and only safe course would be to do by a Synodal act the very same thing which I have now done myself as an individual, viz., redemand our ancient intercommunion on the assumption that we have preserved on both sides continuously one and the same immutable faith, thereby calling in question the rightfulness of our actual separation, and throwing it on the Orientals to make their objections, and show cause for repelling us, we offering at the same time all explanations which may be called for on essential doctrine, and such concessions as may be prudent or possible in secondary matters of opinion, discipline, or ritual.

I gave him on parting a copy of Bishop Andrewes's "Private Devotions," in Greek and Latin, which he seemed much to value, noticing that they contained Prayers for the departed, the Intercession of Saints, the Eulogy of the Blessed Virgin, and faith in the Real Presence. He gave me in turn a copy of Archbishop Platon's "Notices of Russian Ecclesiastical History."

CHAPTER CXXVIII.

Last conversation and parting with M. Skreepitsin.

THE same day I took leave also of M. Skreepitsin, one of the High Procurator's assistants, like M. Mouravieff. He has since become the head of an under department to the Minister of Public Instruction for all merely tolerated religions. He is a most engaging and estimable young man, and was charged with the Representation of the Civil Power in Lithuania, at the time of the return of the Uniats. He received me with the utmost cordiality, and would have it that I should come to them again officially; and, on my saying, as I had often, and all along, said before, that I had no sort of public mission, but had merely come to Russia for my own private studies, and that my demand for communion was also a merely personal act, without any shadow of authority or approbation, except from one old man, Dr. Routh, and that too, only incidental to my other and more imme-

diate objects—so that there was no chance whatever of my visit to Russia leading to any public act; nor in any case, supposing our Church were disposed to open communications, should I be at all a likely person to be employed,—he said, "Surely, having been already here, and knowing the language and our Church, you would be the man." And he seemed quite unwilling to believe my assurances, to believe that nothing was likely to be done from authority on our part, to open communications.

He said: "The Synod would be most happy and forward to remove all difficulties, and meet you half-way; so I hope the English Bishops would write to it. And I can tell you, the Government would like nothing better, if it could be. And there is a very deep feeling also among our people against Rome. I confess, this feeling is not always confined within due limits; but still, it would make many, from their political antipathies, view with favour any attempt in another direction, after that unity, which must always be the object of the prayers of all good Christians.

In speaking of the Metropolitan of Moscow's answer to my letter, I said, he had answered it just as if I had admitted the actual separation of the English and Russian Churches, and had put myself forward to open a treaty or negotiation for the renewal of communication between them. He said I must not think the

Metropolitan wished to answer coldly to my letter; for, in truth he, like all of them, had been much pleased with my visit to Russia, and there was no single person among them who would be more delighted than the Metropolitan to be enabled to enter upon a public negotiation for unity. "However," he continued, "in replying to you as an individual, and himself as a diocesan Bishop, he would no doubt be afraid of committing himself, and so might seem to answer less directly than you could have wished. But you may depend upon it, he is just the man of all of us who most desires that your Bishops should write to the Synod; and I hope they will write to it.

CHAPTER CXXIX.

Parting with the Priest Fortunatoff.

THE same evening I went to bid the Priest Fortunatoff good-bye, and drank tea with him. He said that Professor Bozolubsky and he had talked about me and the English Church. He said he was quite sure that the Synod would make unity, if our bishops would write, and a very great blessing it would be; but your Church would have to make explanations previously; and he said, "There is a point which has been suggested to me, as involving a difference, on which I should like to know what you say; and that is—the Adoration of the Eucharist" (which was indeed one of the points on which the Non-Jurors broke off their correspondence) "for we adore it." I answered, "I see no necessary difference between us here, for if we adore the corporal, the altar, relics, and pictures, much more the Holy Eucharist." "Yes," he answered, "but those adorations are widely different; for we adore the Eucharist

with Divine worship, as being the very body of Christ." This led to a serious discussion.

He said, after all, "We knew here, in Russia, very little of your Church; you have done a great thing in opening the way to a better acquaintance; your bishops should write; our Synod would be very glad to answer and confer with them; and I think it would succeed." I explained that, in our present state and circumstances we can do nothing. He said, "We have not in Russia copies nor knowledge of your symbolical books, and books of canons and laws of the Church. These should be sent to us. Now that you have made a beginning others will follow your example, and come from England to study our Church. We ought, by all means, to have a good church in London, and you one here."

CHAPTER CXXX.

Last conversation and parting with Count Pratasoff. Last words with M. Mouravieff and M. Skreepitsin.

ON Friday, July 2, after having been present at the Synod to witness the nomination to the Bishopric of Tomsk, of the Archimandrite Athanasius, whom I had known as Rector of the Seminary, I took leave of the Count Pratasoff. He said that the chaplaincy of the Russian Embassy at London was now vacant, and they wished to send a chaplain who might be able to learn the English language, and to study our divinity; and intended to require him to make them reports from time to time on the state of ecclesiastical matters and opinions in the English Church; that they would be much obliged to me if I would call upon him when he came, and make his acquaintance, and put him in the way of becoming acquainted with religious matters and with some of our clergy. He said it would be necessary to send a young man,

since after a certain age it is not easy to learn a strange language. He then expressed abundance of good wishes and interest about myself personally, and on bidding me good-bye, embraced me after the foreign way, and said he hoped that what was the wish of all of us would in due time be accomplished.

I was about to leave the Synod, when M. Mouravieff and M. Skreepitsin, who had waited on purpose, stopped me to bid me good-bye. The former repeated what the latter had said already, his assurance that the Metropolitan of Moscow, who, I suppose, had heard from him of my dissatisfaction, had no intention of replying coldly to my letter. "For," he said, "the impression you have made upon the Metropolitan and upon all of us is most favourable to your Church. We have all had the greatest pleasure in conversing with you, and I must say, though you are only a deacon, yet the cause of your Church could not have been better represented."

Here I interrupted, to say, in answer to this last compliment, that really I must once more disclaim all pretension whatever to represent or misrepresent my Church, otherwise than as every individual of a body must necessarily do more or less one or the other by his private words and conduct; but for myself I came merely and simply for my own personal studies. "But," he said, "you will of course let your superiors

and bishops know the result of your journey?" I said, "I have nothing to do in this matter with any bishop, nor do I see any good end to be answered by making any report or communication to the public, or to any other authority, excepting only to the President of my College, who did indeed approve and assist me in my design. Nothing could be done, so far as I can see, by the authorities of the English Church, even if they were themselves all of one mind, and held such opinions as to make it possible for you to any good purpose to treat with them, until their flocks also should be similarly disposed, and the public feeling in our Church very different from what it is now."

"But," he said, "you will publish something?" "Yes," I answered, "I hope to do so; my original intention in coming out was to learn the language, in order to publish translations of some of your books, and also to make myself acquainted with your Church, as I did previously with other churches and communities." I added that what I regretted in the Metropolitan's answer was merely this, that he had seemed to mistake the ground on which I asked for communion, as if I had presumed to attempt to open a communication between churches mutually excommunicated, whereas communion, whatever part of the Church I was in, was a personal duty, an act of submission to a superior, as well as a right and a privilege.

He answered, "Nothing, I can assure you, was less in his thoughts than to accuse you of any such undue presumption. With respect to the communion, though as things are there are obstacles to our giving it to you, I hope the time may come when it may be otherwise; meanwhile we must on both sides content ourselves with the consciousness that there is a unity of spirit between us, and a desire, ours not less than yours, of a visible and formal union."

He then took a most friendly leave of me, and made me promise to write to him.

CHAPTER CXXXI.

Return to England and Oxford.

ON Saturday, July 15 [N.S.], I took leave of Mr. Blackmore. He delivered to me his translation of Mouravieff's "History of the Russian Church," to revise and publish in England. On Monday, the 24th, I left for home, by way of Lubeck and Hamburg, and was at Oxford a few days after reaching it.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

RUSSIAN ECCLESIASTICAL PUBLICATIONS

(*vid. supra*, p. 90).

FRIDAY, August 16 [O.S.]—28 [N.S.], 1840. Books to be bought and read :—

1. An Historical Examination of the Kormchay, by the late Baron Rosenkampf, printed by the Society of History and Antiquities in the University of Moscow, 8vo, 1829.

2. An imperfect MS. work of the same writer, and on the same subject, lent by Mr. Law.

3. The Novaia Skrijal, or New Tablet, being a commentary and explanation of the Services and Rites of the Church, 8vo, 1836, sixth ed., called "New" in contradistinction to the older book on the same subject and under the same title, published in 1658.

4. The Spiritual Regulation, the fundamental statute of the present State Church, published at the Synodal Press, with an Appendix concerning Priests and Monks, and another Ordinance concerning Mixed Marriages, 1820.

5. Order for the coronation of the Emperor Paul, with the Act regulating the Imperial succession, which was read aloud by Paul after his coronation, and placed by him on the altar of the Church of the Assumption at Moscow. At the Synodal Press.

6. Forms for the Nomination and Consecration of Bishops,

and Oath to be taken by them. And instruction on the duties of the Ober-Prokuror of the Synod, and the oath to be taken by him.

7. Rule of the Spiritual Consistories.

8. On the duties of Parish Priests, by George Koniisky, Archbishop of Mohileff. At the Synodal Press, Moscow, 28th ed., 1838.

9. Episcopal instruction to a newly ordained priest, given to him printed at his ordination. Synod. Press, 1815 and 1838.

10. Instructions to a dean or inspector of churches, with a list of the churches placed under his jurisdiction. Moscow, 1835.

11. Instruction to the same, being a monk, 1828.

12. Rule of a Cœnobite Monastery.

13. Forms for the reception of proselytes from Judaism, Mohammedanism, Heathenism, Popery, Lutheranism, and Calvinism, entitled "The order for those who are to be united from heterodox Communities to the Orthodox, Catholic, Eastern Church." Moscow, 1838.

14. State Papers, 5 vols. fol.

15. Acts of the Archæological Commission; quarto, still publishing.

16. Platon's Short History of the Russian Church. 2 vols. octavo. Third ed. Moscow, 1829. The first edition published in his old age, 1805.

17. History of the Russian Hierarchy, in six parts, by Ambrosius, Bishop of Penza and Saratoff. Moscow, 1811—1822.

18. Of the Synods held in Russia, down to the time of John IV. Basilievich. Petersburg; at the press of the medical department of the Ministry for the Interior, 1829.

19. A Dissertation by George Koniisky, showing that

there was no Unia in Lithuania and Polish Russia before that of 1582.

20. Historical Dictionary of such as have attained sanctity, and have been canonized in the Russian Church. 1836.

21. Apparitions or manifestations of miraculous Icons of the Blessed Virgin in Russia. With plates. Moscow, 1838.

22. Historical Dictionary of writers of the clergy of the Græco-Russian Church, by Eugenius, Bishop of Pskoff. 2 vols. octavo. Glazonnoff, second ed., 1827.

23. Armenian History. 2 vols. octavo. Being a translation of the History of Moses Chorenensis.

24. Argontinsky Dolgorouki (Archbishop). Translation of the Armenian Office for Baptism, and of the Liturgy, and an exposition of the Faith of the Armenian Church. 1799.

25. History of the Georgian Church, by Josselian. Tiflis.

26. History of the Georgian Hierarchy. Moscow, 1826.

27. Nicholas Rowndiff. History of Russian Schismatics. Moscow, 1838.

28. Of the Strigolnics, and of other heretics called Starobrats; by the Proto-presbyter Andrew Joannoff. Octavo, 1831.

29. Adam Zœrnikav. On the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father only. 2 vols., small quarto, in Latin. Baturini in Parv. Russia, 1682; but printed at Kœnigsburg, 1774; and at Petersburg later in a Greek ed., 2 vols. fol. [1797], by Archbishop Eugenius Bulgaris.

30. Theophanis Procopovich Theologia; containing a treatise on the Procession of the Holy Ghost, taken from the work of Zœrnikav, which Theophanes saw and used in MS. at Kieff before 1715.

31. Works of Demetrius, Archbishop of Rostoff, who died in 1709. This writer, like Stephen Yavorsky, is quite opposed to Protestantism, and differs but little from Rome

on other points of detail; only on the subject of the Procession of the Holy Ghost he is Greek, and, like all the non-united divines of Little Russian origin, he prefers the spiritual supremacy of the Tsar to that of the Pope. His works make four thick octavo volumes, without reckoning his Compilation of Lives of the Saints, in twelve volumes, one for each month. Moscow, 1842.

32. Stephen Yavorsky, Metropolitan of Riazan, a little Russian like Demetrius Rostoffsky; called guardian of the Patriarchal Chair from A.D. 1700 to 1721; and then President of the Spiritual College or Synod. He wrote in 1713-14, a work entitled *Kamen Vieri*, "the Stone or Rock of the Faith," against the Protestants, in a spirit quite opposed to that of Theophanes Procopovich. But Peter did not allow him to publish it. It was published first in 1728, some years after his death, at Moscow; and the latest edition of it is that of the Synodal Press, also at Moscow, in 1841.

33. Tichon of Zadonsk, Bishop of Voronege and Eetz (canonized A.D. 1861). His works in fifteen parts, octavo. At the Synodal Press, 1836. They are remarkable for the almost total omission of everything that is ecclesiastical, so that their spiritual piety would seem to Protestants akin to their own, though they might not discover in them any positively Protestant statements. But, if they are compared with the writings of Demetrius of Rostoff and Stephen Yavorsky, they may be said in a general way to approach very near to Protestantism, just as the writings of Demetrius and Stephen approach very near to Roman Catholicism.

34. Alphabet Duchovni. One vol. octavo. Against the Raskolniks.

35. Rozisk; against the same.

36. Jezl Pravlenia, the Staff of Rule; against the same.

37. Prashchitsa, the Sling; against the same.

38. The Gazette de S. Petersbourg often contains articles of interest giving information on Ecclesiastical as well as other matters.

39. The Civil Almanack for 1840.

40. Report of the Ober-Prokuror for 1840.

41. Report of the Minister of Public Instruction for 1840.

42. Sunday Readings; a religious newspaper. Published at Kieff.

43. Christian Reading; a religious monthly periodical. Petersburg.

44. Works of the Holy Fathers, translated into Russ by the Moscow Spiritual Academy; with an Appendix, consisting of Russian spiritual articles. All these three publications contain occasionally old ecclesiastical documents and notices on ecclesiastical subjects.

45. The Catalogue of all the works published and sold by the Synod at the Synodal bookshops at Petersburg and Moscow. In this catalogue are contained the following in Russ:—

1. St. Ambrose. On Repentance. Two books. 1842. Select Sermons; 1806. On the Sacerdotal Order. Moscow, 1823. On their duties. Moscow, 1840.
2. St. Gregory Naz. Homilies. Two parts. 3rd ed., 1839.
3. St. Ephrem Syrus. Book of godly labours. Four parts. Moscow, 1840.
4. St. John Chrysostom. Sermons on Repentance and for divers festivals. Moscow, 1816. On the Priesthood. M., 1829. On St. Matthew (in modern Russ). Three parts. M., 1839. On Epistle to Romans (Modern Russ). M., 1839. On Galatians. M., 1842. On Philippians and 1 Corinthians. 2nd ed. M., 1840.

o o

5. St. John Xiphilinus. Instructions.
6. St Basil. Instructions on the Psalms. 2nd. ed. Petersb., 1825. Sermons, Various. 2nd ed. Pet., 1824. Moral Sermons, by Metaphrastes. 2nd ed. P., 1824. Moral. M,. 1838. Hexameron.
7. St. Justin Mart. Tryphon. M., 1822.
8. St. Dionysius Areop. The Heav. Hierarchy (Modern Russ). M., 1839.
9. St. Cyril Jerus. Catechetic. 3rd ed. (Modern Russ). M., 1824.
10. St. John Climacus. The Ladder. M., 1836.
11. St. Macarius of Egypt. Spiritual Disc. Two parts. M., 1839.
12. St. Maximus. On Charity. 3rd ed. M., 1839.
13. St. Peter Chrysol. Instruct. Two vols. M., 1822.
14. St. John, Damasc. Orthodox Faith. 3rd ed. M., 1834.

October 28 [o.s.]—Nov. 9 [N.S.] 1840.—I went on this day to live *en pension* with a young priest, Fr. J. B. Fortunatoff. I lived with him four months in all; and read with him, Slavonic and Russian books, when he was at leisure, assisting at the services in his church. In this way I read through,—1. The Priest's Service Book.—2. The Office Book, or Ritual.—3. Bishop's Service Book, or Ordinal.—4. Great part of the πηδάλιον, or Nomocanon. (Also, a MS. Essay on the Slavonic and Russian Nomocanon, by the late Baron Rosenkempf, lent me by Mr. Blackmore, from Mr. Law.)—5. Passages of the Oustar, or Book of Rubrics.—6. And, of the Triods, the Octoich, and the Twelve Volumes containing the variable monthly services.—7. The New Table of the Ceremonial of the Easterns, by Venia-

minoff.—8. Dmetreffsky on the Liturgy.—9. Mouravieff's Letters on Eastern Services; and, 10. The Reader's Psalter. Also, Platon's History of the Russian Church, given me by the Archpriest.

Besides these, I then, or afterwards, procured most of the other books accessory for the Service of the Church; and many others bearing on Divinity or History, in all, perhaps, about 360 volumes.

No. II.

THE BRITISH NON-JURING BISHOPS AND THE ORIENTAL PATRIARCHS.

HAVING repeatedly heard mention, since my arrival in Russia, of that Correspondence of the Oriental Patriarchs with the British (non-juring) Bishops in the time of Peter I., with a view to ecclesiastical unity, of which Dr. Routh had already spoken to me, and to which the recent reception of the Uniates by the Russian Church, and the consequent republication in Russ, of documents of the seventeenth century, illustrative of its faith, had given a new interest [vid. supr. pp. 63—72], I asked Count Pratasoff to let me see the MSS. belonging to it, as far as they are contained in the Synodal Archives. Accordingly, on March 4 [O.S.]—16 [N.S.]—M. Mouravieff took me into the Synodal Chancery, and caused the MSS. to be brought out for my inspection, it being understood that they were not to be copied, though writing materials were furnished for any notes or extracts I might wish to make.

They consisted of three thin folio pamphlets, in marble-paper covers; and a fourth cover, containing a small collection of Letters and Translation of Letters. They were in four languages—English, Greek, Latin, and Russ.

Of the three pamphlets, the third contained the Liturgy [Mass service] of the British Bishops, in Greek; the second, was the first, in Latin. The first was in Greek, and con-

tained the Rejoinder [May 30, 1722] of the British Bishops to the first answer of the Patriarchs [1718]. This Rejoinder they had requested the Russian Synod to transmit for them to the Patriarchs; and the Patriarchs, in consequence, after having read it, returned it, with their own final answer or Ultimatum [1723], and the XVIII. Bethlehem Articles, to the Russian Synod, together with the rest of the MSS. in their possession. This will explain why so many documents, belonging to the Correspondence, are to be found at Petersburg.

Here I interrupt my account of them, to observe that, at a later date, I received a present of a MS. translation, in Russ, of the first answer of the Patriarchs [1718], (embodying the original Proposals of the British [1716]), with its appendices.

Also, I have to notice that at a later date, after my return to England, I received from Dr. Routh a MS. copy of the original Proposals of the British Bishops [1716], apparently made at the time that those Proposals were sent. Also I received from a friend a copy of the whole correspondence in full, as preserved in English, Greek, and Latin, in Scotland, in Bishop Jolly's library. In this copy I first noticed two remarkable Letters from the Russian Synod to the British Bishops, showing a spirit very different from that of the Eastern Patriarchs; and another from the High Chancellor Gallofskin, dropping the correspondence on the death of Peter, but promising that the Imperial Government would cause it to be resumed on the first favourable opportunity.[1]

Thus much as regards the three pamphlets; as to the

[1] [These three letters, being given at length in the Rev. George Williams's careful work, "The Orthodox Church of the East" (Rivingtons, 1868), need not be printed here.]

fourth cover of quarto size, the Letters which I noticed in it were these :—

1. One, of the date of May 30, 1722, signed by "Archibald Primus, Scoto-Britanniæ Episcopus ; Jacobus, Scoto-Britanniæ Ep. ; Jeremias, Anglo-Brit. Ep. : and Thomas, Anglo-Brit. Ep. ; and sent per Gennadium Archimandritam ad Jacobum Proto-syncellum, acknowledging the receipt of the first Answer of the Patriarchs, communicating to the Russian Synod a Latin copy of their Rejoinder, and begging them to send on the Greek copy to the Patriarchs.

2. A Letter from the Synod to the Patriarchs, dated March 6, 1723, written in a very pleasing style, and with an apparent desire of unity, speaking of having received the preceding No. 1, about the end of 1722, and signed by Theodorus, Metropolitan of Novgorod ; Theophanes (Procopovich), Archbishop of Pskoff ; Leonidas, Bishop of Krontinsk ; Gabriel, Archimandrite of the Lavra of the Holy Trinity ; Theophylact of the Choudoff ; three other Archimandrites, one Hegumen, and one Archpriest.

3. A Letter, marked 86, of the date July 14, 1724, from the Archimandrite Gennadius to the Synod, stating that "the Scottish and English Bishops are quite ready, according to the Synod's proposal, to send two of their brethren." "I said to the High Chancellor and to the Archbishop of Thebais, that it should be so," reports the writer, "at the desire of the Synod here in Session ; but difficulties have occurred to delay their departure ; so they have charged the Proto-syncellus to return to Russia with their apology." And he says he will send his own nephew with the two delegates in the next spring.

4. In the same envelope is contained a Letter from the Scotch and English Bishops to the Synod, in Latin, begging the Synod to communicate their thanks to the Emperor,

dated London, July 13, 1724, and to the same effect as the preceding letter of Gennadius, signed by Bishops Archibaldus, Jeremias, Thomas, and Joannes.

5. In the fourth envelope, "The Catholic Bishops of the British Churches" to the Synod, the same as the above, only in English. (N.B.—I should add that there are translations into Russ of all the Letters, as well as the originals.)

6. In the fifth sheet, another from the British, on the death of the Emperor, hoping that the Empress, his relict, would be equally favourable, and addressed to the Synod, —"The mission of our two delegates," they write, "we have in consequence delayed, till we hear further from you." London, April 11, 1725; signed by Bishops "Archibaldus, Jeremias, and Joannes."

The chief observations which I made upon the correspondence, both at the time that I first saw the MSS. in the Synodal Chancery and afterwards, were to the following effect:—

1. Both the Russian Synod and the British Bishops seemed to treat of a peace to be made by way of mutual concession without clearly laying down first the unity and continuity of the true Faith in the true Church. The Greek Patriarchs indeed are quite free from this charge, for they treated distinctly enough for the *conversion* of the British to the Eastern, as to the one true Catholic Church. But the British placed themselves at a great disadvantage by making vague proposals without distinctly advancing their claim to have preserved throughout the Catholic faith, without professing to seek only the renewal of that union which once existed, and consequently to be unable to do more than *explain* in essentials, though in secondary matters of description or ritual they might *concede*.

2. The British seem, however, to have surmounted some of those *primâ facie* difficulties which stand in the way of union. They came to an agreement with the Easterns on the great point of the "Procession" and the interpolation of the Creed. They agreed readily on the number of the Ecclesiastical Mysteries or Sacraments, the Eastern on their side acknowledging the distinction between the two and the other five. They disclaimed the error of the Iconoclasts, admitting the use of images and pictures, and even seeming to offer to receive the Second Nicene Council, if only the Easterns would consent to sanction some "explanation" and caution against abuses. They freely owned the Intercession of the Saints; the Real Presence, by virtue of consecration, in the Eucharist, and the use of prayers and oblations for the departed, and the fact of degrees, and of a preparation and improvement, in the condition of souls in the intermediate state, &c., &c. And they confessed distinctly the inspiration [2] of the Church and her indefectibility.

3. The Easterns also, though their general tone was repulsive, yet made considerable approaches and showed moderation upon some points, especially in this—that they offered to be content with some distinct mention of the Intercession of the Saints in prayers addressed to God, on the part of the British, even though the British should hesitate or refuse to admit any direct addresses whatever either to saints or angels.

4. On the other hand, the British seem on some points to have stopped short of what some of their own best divines teach or admit, and so to have made matters worse rather than better. Reasoning strenuously against Transubstan-

[2] [This opinion goes beyond what the Catholic Church teaches of her own gift, which is really a divine superintendence and protection from error.]

tiation, they seem to reject that idea of a change, transelementation, or transmutation, which the Church has always held, and to seek to substitute the modern phrase of "a True and Real Presence," to be used exclusively, instead of the language of Christ Himself, of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, and of St. Basil's Liturgy. Also, they reason at length against the Adoration of the Eucharist, the Invocation of Saints and Angels, and the Veneration of Holy Pictures, as if these things involved in the strictest sense idolatry and heresy, which yet, at the end of their rejoinder, they neutralize and seemingly waive all their preceding arguments by proposing a conference, and offering to leave the Easterns in full possession of their belief and practice on all the above points, and to make a "solid union" with them notwithstanding, on the strange condition that they shall be themselves allowed to reject openly the same belief and practice throughout the whole united communion of their respective Churches.

5. Lastly, the Easterns themselves seem in some respects to have increased rather than diminished existing difficulties, especially by insisting most strongly on the whole popish definition of Transubstantiation by substance and accidents, and by sending, as their ultimatum, the XVIII. (Bethlehem) Articles of Dositheus, a confession which, though orthodox in substance, is yet far from being free from all taint of Latinism. They also, strangely enough, asserted that it was unlawful, nay even absurd, to pray to God for lesser temporal blessings in the Name of Christ. But these exaggerations were modified, if not altogether removed, by the language of the Russian Synod, in transmitting the documents from the Patriarchs to England; and the same Synod, only a few years ago, by publishing a catechism in the name of the Church without the Roman

definition of the Eucharistic Presence (by substance and accidents) and by introducing corrections into the authorized translation, has made it impossible for itself, on any further renewal of negotiations for unity, to object those XVIII Articles to the British bishops, as having been already sent as the *ultimatum* of the whole Eastern Church, and being in their wording incapable of modification.

I end with the remark that the correspondence seems to have altogether originated in the Scottish bishop [Archibald] Campbell, who in the year 1716 was resident in London, acting there as the representative of his brethren for all that related to their communion. And, besides the other two Scotch bishops, Gadderar and Rattray, the English non-juring bishops, viz. Collier, Spinkes, Hawes, Brett, Gandy, and Griffin, who took part personally at one time or another in this correspondence, all owed their consecration to the Scottish bishops, Campbell and Gadderar, no less than to the English Hickes, who died in 1715. Nor has either the whole or any part of what Scottish bishops did in this matter ever been blamed or disavowed by their Church since, nor, so far as it appears, by any one of the other Scotch bishops who were living at the time, and for whom Bishop Campbell acted.

Of course the present English Establishment is in no way connected with the correspondence, otherwise than so far as it may be implicated by its subsequent re-establishment of communion with the Scottish Church.

No. III.

LIST OF MR. PALMER'S WRITINGS,

Drawn up from Dr. Bloxam's Magdalen College Register.

1. Introduction to the Thirty-nine Articles. Latin. Printed, not published. 1840. [Vid. ch. i. above.]

2. Speech at the Meeting of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. 1840.

3. Letter to the Rev. C. P. Golightly, on his charging certain members of the University with dishonesty. Oxford, 1841.

4. Aids to Reflexion on the seemingly double character of the Established Church. Oxford, 1841.

5. A Protest against the Jerusalem Bishopric. Not published. 1842.

6. On an announcement in the Prussian State Gazette, concerning a Bishop in Jerusalem. Oxford, 1842.

7. A Letter to a Protestant Catholic. Oxford, 1842.

8. Short Poems and Hymns, the latter mostly translations. Oxford, 1843.

9. A Harmony of Anglican Doctrine with the Doctrine of the Eastern Church. Aberdeen, 1846.

10. The same translated into Greek. Ἀθηναῖς, 1851.

11. An Appeal to the Scottish Bishops, &c. Edinburgh, 1849.

12. Ταπεινὴ ἀναφορὰ τοῖς πατριάρχαις. Ἀθηναῖς, 1850.

13. Διατριβαὶ περὶ τῆς Ἀγγλικῆς Ἐκκλησίας. Ἀθηναῖς, 1851.

14. Διατριβαὶ περὶ τῆς ἀνατολικῆς ἐκκλησίας. Ἀθηναῖς, 1852.

15. Dissertations concerning the Orthodox Communion. London, 1853.

16. Remarks on the Turkish Question. London, 1858.

17. Early Christian Symbolism. London, 1859.

18. Egyptian Chronicles. Two vols. London, 1861.

19. Commentatio in Librum Danielis. Romæ, 1874.

20. The Patriarch Nicon. Six vols. octavo. Trübner. 1871—1876.

THE END.

PRINTED BY GILBERT AND RIVINGTON, LIMITED, ST. JOHN'S SQUARE, E.C.

A LIST OF

KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH & CO.'S PUBLICATIONS.

1, *Paternoster Square,*
London.

A LIST OF
KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH & CO.'S PUBLICATIONS.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
GENERAL LITERATURE	2	POETRY	34
INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC SERIES	29	WORKS OF FICTION	43
MILITARY WORKS	31	BOOKS FOR THE YOUNG	44

GENERAL LITERATURE.

ADAMS, F. O., F.R.G.S.—**The History of Japan.** From the Earliest Period to the Present time. New Edition, revised. 2 vols. With Maps and Plans. Demy 8vo, 21*s.* each.

ADAMSON, H. T., B.D.—**The Truth as it is in Jesus.** Crown 8vo, 8*s.* 6*d.*

The Three Sevens. Crown 8vo, 5*s.* 6*d.*

The Millennium; or, the Mystery of God Finished. Crown 8vo, cloth, 6*s.*

A. K. H. B.—**From a Quiet Place.** A New Volume of Sermons. Crown 8vo, 5*s.*

ALLEN, Rev. R., M.A.—**Abraham; his Life, Times, and Travels,** 3800 years ago. With Map. Second Edition. Post 8vo, 6*s.*

ALLEN, Grant, B.A.—**Physiological Æsthetics.** Large post 8vo, 9*s.*

ALLIES, T. W., M.A.—**Per Crucem ad Lucem.** The Result of a Life. 2 vols. Demy 8vo, 25*s.*

A Life's Decision. Crown 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.*

ANDERDON, Rev. W. H.—**Fasti Apostolici;** a Chronology of the years between the Ascension of our Lord and the Martyrdom of SS. Peter and Paul. Crown 8vo, cloth, 2*s.* 6*d.*

ANDERSON, R. C., C.E.—**Tables for Facilitating the Calculation of Every Detail in connection with Earthen and Masonry Dams.** Royal 8vo, £2 2*s.*

ARCHER, Thomas.—**About my Father's Business.** Work amidst the Sick, the Sad, and the Sorrowing. Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo, 2*s.* 6*d.*

ARMSTRONG, Richard A., B.A.—**Latter-Day Teachers.** Six Lectures. Small crown 8vo, 2*s.* 6*d.*

ARNOLD, Arthur.—**Social Politics.** Demy 8vo, 14*s.*

Free Land. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

AUBERTIN, J. J.—**A Flight to Mexico.** With Seven full-page Illustrations and a Railway Map of Mexico. Crown 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.*

BADGER, George Percy, D.C.L.—**An English-Arabic Lexicon.** In which the equivalent for English Words and Idiomatic Sentences are rendered into literary and colloquial Arabic. Royal 4to, £9 9*s.*

BAGEHOT, Walter.—**The English Constitution.** Third Edition. Crown 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.*

Lombard Street. A Description of the Money Market. Seventh Edition. Crown 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.*

Some Articles on the Depreciation of Silver, and Topics connected with it. Demy 8vo, 5*s.*

BAGENAL, Philip H.—**The American-Irish and their Influence on Irish Politics.** Crown 8vo, 5*s.*

BAGOT, Alan, C.E.—**Accidents in Mines:** their Causes and Prevention. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

The Principles of Colliery Ventilation. Second Edition, greatly enlarged. Crown 8vo, 5*s.*

BAKER, Sir Sherston, Bart.—**Halleck's International Law;** or, Rules Regulating the Intercourse of States in Peace and War. A New Edition, revised, with Notes and Cases. 2 vols. Demy 8vo, 38*s.*

The Laws relating to Quarantine. Crown 8vo, 12*s.* 6*d.*

BALDWIN, Capt. J. H.—**The Large and Small Game of Bengal and the North-Western Provinces of India.** With numerous Illustrations. Second Edition. 4to, 21*s.*

BALLIN, Ada S. and F. L.—**A Hebrew Grammar.** With Exercises selected from the Bible. Crown 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.*

BARCLAY, Edgar.—**Mountain Life in Algeria.** With numerous Illustrations by Photogravure. Crown 4to, 16*s.*

BARLOW, James H.—**The Ultimatum of Pessimism.** An Ethical Study. Demy 8vo, cloth, 6*s.*

BARNES, William.—**An Outline of English Speechcraft.** Crown 8vo, 4*s.*

BARNES, William.—continued.

Outlines of Redecraft (Logic). With English Wording. Crown 8vo, 3*s.*

BARTLEY, G. C. T.—**Domestic Economy:** Thrift in Every-Day Life. Taught in Dialogues suitable for children of all ages. Small crown 8vo, 2*s.*

BAUR, Ferdinand, Dr. Ph.—**A Philological Introduction to Greek and Latin for Students.** Translated and adapted from the German, by C. KEGAN PAUL, M.A., and E. D. STONE, M.A. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

BAYNES, Rev. Canon R. H.—**At the Communion Time.** A Manual for Holy Communion. With a preface by the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Derry and Raphoe. 1*s.* 6*d.*

BELLARS, Rev. W.—**The Testimony of Conscience to the Truth and Divine Origin of the Christian Revelation.** Burney Prize Essay. Small crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

BELLINGHAM, Henry, M.P.—**Social Aspects of Catholicism and Protestantism in their Civil Bearing upon Nations.** Translated and adapted from the French of M. le Baron de Haulleville. With a preface by His Eminence Cardinal Manning. Second and Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

BENN, Alfred W.—**The Greek Philosophers.** 2 vols. Demy 8vo, cloth, 28*s.*

BENT, J. Theodore.—**Genoa:** How the Republic Rose and Fell. With 18 Illustrations. Demy 8vo, 18*s.*

BLOOMFIELD, The Lady.—**Reminiscences of Court and Diplomatic Life.** With three portraits and six illustrations by the Author. Third edition. 2 vols. Demy 8vo, cloth, 28*s.*

BLUNT, The Ven. Archdeacon.—**The Divine Patriot, and other Sermons.** Preached in Scarborough and in Cannes. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

BLUNT, Wilfred S.—**The Future of Islam.** Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

BONWICK, J., F.R.G.S.—**Pyramid Facts and Fancies.** Crown 8vo, 5*s.*

Egyptian Belief and Modern Thought. Large post 8vo, 10*s.* 6*d.*

BOUVERIE-PUSEY, S. E. B.—**Permanence and Evolution.** An Inquiry into the Supposed Mutability of Animal Types. Crown 8vo, 5*s.*

BOWEN, H. C., M.A.—**Studies in English.** For the use of Modern Schools. Third Edition. Small crown 8vo, 1*s.* 6*d.*

English Grammar for Beginners. Fcap. 8vo, 1*s.*

BRIDGETT, Rev. T. E.—**History of the Holy Eucharist in Great Britain.** 2 vols. Demy 8vo, 18*s.*

BRODRICK, the Hon. G. C.—**Political Studies.** Demy 8vo, 14*s.*

BROOKE, Rev. S. A.—**Life and Letters of the Late Rev. F. W. Robertson, M.A.** Edited by.

I. Uniform with Robertson's Sermons. 2 vols. With Steel Portrait. 7*s.* 6*d.*
II. Library Edition. With Portrait. 8vo, 12*s.*
III. A Popular Edition. In 1 vol., 8vo, 6*s.*

The Spirit of the Christian Life. A New Volume of Sermons. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.*

The Fight of Faith. Sermons preached on various occasions. Fifth Edition. Crown 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.*

Theology in the English Poets.—Cowper, Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Burns. Fourth and Cheaper Edition. Post 8vo, 5*s.*

Christ in Modern Life. Sixteenth and Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo, 5*s.*

Sermons. First Series. Twelfth and Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo, 5*s.*

Sermons. Second Series. Fifth and Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo, 5*s.*

BROOKE, W. G., M.A.—**The Public Worship Regulation Act.** With a Classified Statement of its Provisions, Notes, and Index. Third Edition, revised and corrected. Crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

Six Privy Council Judgments.—1850–72. Annotated by. Third Edition. Crown 8vo, 9*s.*

BROWN, Rev. J. Baldwin, B.A.—**The Higher Life.** Its Reality, Experience, and Destiny. Fifth Edition. Crown 8vo, 5*s.*

Doctrine of Annihilation in the Light of the Gospel of Love. Five Discourses. Third Edition. Crown 8vo, 2*s.* 6*d.*

The Christian Policy of Life. A Book for Young Men of Business. Third Edition. Crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

BROWN, J. Croumbie, LL.D.—**Reboisement in France**; or, Records of the Replanting of the Alps, the Cevennes, and the Pyrenees with Trees, Herbage, and Bush. Demy 8vo, 12*s.* 6*d.*

The Hydrology of Southern Africa. Demy 8vo, 10*s.* 6*d.*

BROWN, S. Borton, B.A.—**The Fire Baptism of all Flesh**; or, the Coming Spiritual Crisis of the Dispensation. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

BROWNE, W. R.—**The Inspiration of the New Testament.** With a Preface by the Rev. J. P. NORRIS, D.D. Fcap. 8vo, 2*s.* 6*d.*

BURCKHARDT, Jacob.—**The Civilization of the Period of the Renaissance in Italy.** Authorized translation, by S. G. C. Middlemore. 2 vols. Demy 8vo, 24*s.*

BURTON, Mrs. Richard.—**The Inner Life of Syria, Palestine, and the Holy Land.** With Maps, Photographs, and Coloured Plates. Cheaper Edition in one volume. Large post 8vo, 10*s.* 6*d.*

BUSBECQ, Ogier Ghiselin de.—**His Life and Letters.** By CHARLES THORNTON FORSTER, M.A., and F. H. BLACKBURNE DANIELL, M.A. 2 vols. With Frontispieces. Demy 8vo, 24*s.*

CARPENTER, Dr. Phillip P.—**His Life and Work.** Edited by his brother, Russell Lant Carpenter. With Portrait and Vignettes. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.*

CARPENTER, W. B., LL.D., M.D., F.R.S., etc.—**The Principles of Mental Physiology.** With their Applications to the Training and Discipline of the Mind, and the Study of its Morbid Conditions. Illustrated. Sixth Edition. 8vo, 12*s.*

CERVANTES.—**The Ingenious Knight Don Quixote de la Mancha.** A New Translation from the Originals of 1605 and 1608. By A. J. DUFFIELD. With Notes. 3 vols. Demy 8vo, 42*s.*

CHEYNE, Rev. T. K.—**The Prophecies of Isaiah.** Translated with Critical Notes and Dissertations. 2 vols. Second Edition. Demy 8vo, 25*s.*

CLAIRAUT.—**Elements of Geometry.** Translated by Dr. KAINES. With 145 Figures. Crown 8vo, 4*s.* 6*d.*

CLAYDEN, P. W.—**England under Lord Beaconsfield.** The Political History of the Last Six Years, from the end of 1873 to the beginning of 1880. Second Edition, with Index and continuation to March, 1880. Demy 8vo, 16*s.*

CLODD, Edward, F.R.A.S.—**The Childhood of the World:** a Simple Account of Man in Early Times. Sixth Edition. Crown 8vo, 3*s.*

A Special Edition for Schools. 1*s.*

The Childhood of Religions. Including a Simple Account of the Birth and Growth of Myths and Legends. Ninth Thousand. Crown 8vo, 5*s.*

A Special Edition for Schools. 1*s.* 6*d.*

Jesus of Nazareth. With a brief sketch of Jewish History to the Time of His Birth. Small crown 8vo, 6*s.*

COGHLAN, J. Cole, D.D.—**The Modern Pharisee and other Sermons.** Edited by the Very Rev. H. H. DICKINSON, D.D., Dean of Chapel Royal, Dublin. New and Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.*

COLERIDGE, Sara.—**Phantasmion.** A Fairy Tale. With an Introductory Preface, by the Right Hon. Lord Coleridge, of Ottery St. Mary. A New Edition. Illustrated. Crown 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.*

Memoir and Letters of Sara Coleridge. Edited by her Daughter. With Index. Cheap Edition. With one Portrait. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Collects Exemplified. Being Illustrations from the Old and New Testaments of the Collects for the Sundays after Trinity. By the Author of "A Commentary on the Epistles and Gospels." Edited by the Rev. JOSEPH JACKSON. Crown 8vo, 5*s.*

COLLINS, Mortimer.—The Secret of Long Life. Small crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

CONNELL, A. K.—Discontent and Danger in India. Small crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

COOKE, Prof. J. P.—Scientific Culture. Crown 8vo, 1*s.*

COOPER, H. J.—The Art of Furnishing on Rational and Æsthetic Principles. New and Cheaper Edition. Fcap. 8vo, 1*s.* 6*d.*

CORFIELD, Prof., M.D.—Health. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

CORY, William.—A Guide to Modern English History. Part I. —MDCCCXV.-MDCCCXXX. Demy 8vo, 9*s.* Part II.—MDCCCXXX.-MDCCCXXXV., 15*s.*

CORY, Col. Arthur.—The Eastern Menace. Crown 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.*

COTTERILL, H. B.—An Introduction to the Study of Poetry. Crown 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.*

COURTNEY, W. L.—The Metaphysics of John Stuart Mill. Crown 8vo, 5*s.* 6*d.*

COX, Rev. Sir George W., M.A., Bart.—A History of Greece from the Earliest Period to the end of the Persian War. New Edition. 2 vols. Demy 8vo, 36*s.*

The Mythology of the Aryan Nations. New Edition. Demy 8vo, 16*s.*

A General History of Greece from the Earliest Period to the Death of Alexander the Great, with a sketch of the subsequent History to the present time. New Edition. Crown 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.*

Tales of Ancient Greece. New Edition. Small crown 8vo, 6*s.*

School History of Greece. New Edition. With Maps. Fcap. 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

The Great Persian War from the History of Herodotus. New Edition. Fcap. 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

A Manual of Mythology in the form of Question and Answer. New Edition. Fcap. 8vo, 3*s.*

An Introduction to the Science of Comparative Mythology and Folk-Lore. Crown 8vo, 9*s.*

COX, Rev. Sir G. W., M.A., Bart., and JONES, Eustace Hinton.—Popular Romances of the Middle Ages. Second Edition, in 1 vol. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

COX, Rev. Samuel.—Salvator Mundi; or, Is Christ the Saviour of all Men? Seventh Edition. Crown 8vo, 5*s.*

COX, Rev. Samuel.—continued.

The Genesis of Evil, and other Sermons, mainly expository. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

A Commentary on the Book of Job. With a Translation. Demy 8vo, 15*s.*

CRAUFURD, A. H.—**Seeking for Light:** Sermons. Crown 8vo, 5*s.*

CRAVEN, Mrs.—**A Year's Meditations.** Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

CRAWFURD, Oswald.—**Portugal, Old and New.** With Illustrations and Maps. New and Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

CROZIER, John Beattie, M.B.—**The Religion of the Future.** Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

Cyclopædia of Common things. Edited by the Rev. Sir GEORGE W. COX, Bart., M.A. With 500 Illustrations. Third Edition. Large post 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.*

DALTON, Rev. John Neale, M.A., R.N.—**Sermons to Naval Cadets.** Preached on board H.M.S. "Britannia." Second Edition. Small crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

DAVIDSON, Rev. Samuel, D.D., LL.D.—**The New Testament, translated from the Latest Greek Text of Tischendorf.** A New and thoroughly revised Edition. Post 8vo, 10*s.* 6*d.*

Canon of the Bible: Its Formation, History, and Fluctuations. Third and revised Edition. Small crown 8vo, 5*s.*

The Doctrine of Last Things contained in the New Testament compared with the Notions of the Jews and the Statements of Church Creeds. Small crown 8vo, cloth, 3*s.* 6*d.*

DAVIDSON, Thomas.—**The Parthenon Frieze,** and other Essays. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

DAVIES, Rev. J. L., M.A.—**Theology and Morality.** Essays on Questions of Belief and Practice. Crown 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.*

DAWSON, Geo., M.A.—**Prayers, with a Discourse on Prayer.** Edited by his Wife. Eighth Edition. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

Sermons on Disputed Points and Special Occasions. Edited by his Wife. Third Edition. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

Sermons on Daily Life and Duty. Edited by his Wife. Third Edition. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

The Authentic Gospel. A New Volume of Sermons. Edited by GEORGE ST. CLAIR. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

Three Books of God: Nature, History, and Scripture. Sermons edited by George St. Clair. Crown 8vo, cloth, 6*s.*

DE REDCLIFFE, Viscount Stratford.—**Why am I a Christian?** Fifth Edition. Crown 8vo, 3*s.*

DESPREZ, Phillip S., B.D.—**Daniel and John;** or, the Apocalypse of the Old and that of the New Testament. Demy 8vo, 12*s.*

DIDON, Rev. Father.—Science without God. Conferences by. Translated from the French by ROSA CORDER. Crown 8vo, cloth, 5*s.*

DOWDEN, Edward, LL.D.—Shakspere: a Critical Study of his Mind and Art. Sixth Edition. Post 8vo, 12*s.*

Studies in Literature, 1789–1877. Second and Cheaper Edition. Large post 8vo, 6*s.*

DREWRY, G. O., M.D.—The Common-Sense Management of the Stomach. Fifth Edition. Fcap. 8vo, 2*s.* 6*d.*

DREWRY, G. O., M.D., and BARTLETT, H. C., Ph.D.—Cup and Platter; or, Notes on Food and its Effects. New and Cheaper Edition. Small 8vo, 1*s.* 6*d.*

DUFFIELD, A. J.—Don Quixote: his Critics and Commentators. With a brief account of the minor works of MIGUEL DE CERVANTES SAAVEDRA, and a statement of the aim and end of the greatest of them all. A handy book for general readers. Crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

DU MONCEL, Count.—The Telephone, the Microphone, and the Phonograph. With 74 Illustrations. Second Edition. Small crown 8vo, 5*s.*

EDGEWORTH, F. Y.—Mathematical Psychics. An Essay on the Application of Mathematics to Social Science. Demy 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.*

EDIS, Robert W., F.S.A., etc.—Decoration and Furniture of Town Houses: a Series of Cantor Lectures, delivered before the Society of Arts, 1880. Amplified and Enlarged. With 29 Full-page Illustrations and numerous Sketches. Second Edition. Square 8vo, 12*s.* 6*d.*

Educational Code of the Prussian Nation, in its Present Form. In accordance with the Decisions of the Common Provincial Law, and with those of Recent Legislation. Crown 8vo, 2*s.* 6*d.*

Education Library. Edited by PHILIP MAGNUS:—

An Introduction to the History of Educational Theories. By OSCAR BROWNING, M.A. Second Edition. 3*s.* 6*d.*

John Amos Comenius: his Life and Educational Work. By Prof. S. S. LAURIE, A.M. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Old Greek Education. By the Rev. Prof. MAHAFFY, M.A. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Eighteenth Century Essays. Selected and Edited by AUSTIN DOBSON. With a Miniature Frontispiece by R. Caldecott. Parchment Library Edition, 6*s.*; vellum, 7*s.* 6*d.*

ELSDALE, Henry.—Studies in Tennyson's Idylls. Crown 8vo, 5*s.*

ELYOT, Sir Thomas.—**The Boke named the Gouernour.** Edited from the First Edition of 1531 by HENRY HERBERT STEPHEN CROFT, M.A., Barrister-at-Law. With Portraits of Sir Thomas and Lady Elyot, copied by permission of her Majesty from Holbein's Original Drawings at Windsor Castle. 2 vols. Fcap. 4to, 50*s.*

Eranus. A Collection of Exercises in the Alcaic and Sapphic Metres. Edited by F. W. CORNISH, Assistant Master at Eton. Crown 8vo, 2*s.*

EVANS, Mark.—**The Story of Our Father's Love,** told to Children. Fifth and Cheaper Edition. With Four Illustrations. Fcap. 8vo, 1*s.* 6*d.*

A Book of Common Prayer and Worship for Household Use, compiled exclusively from the Holy Scriptures. Second Edition. Fcap. 8vo, 1*s.*

The Gospel of Home Life. Crown 8vo, 4*s.* 6*d.*

The King's Story-Book. In Three Parts. Fcap. 8vo, 1*s.* 6*d.* each.

*** Parts I. and II. with Eight Illustrations and Two Picture Maps, now ready.

"Fan Kwae" at Canton before Treaty Days 1825–1844. By an old Resident. With frontispiece. Crown 8vo, cloth, 5*s.*

FELKIN, H. M.—**Technical Education in a Saxon Town.** Published for the City and Guilds of London Institute for the Advancement of Technical Education. Demy 8vo, 2*s.*

FLOREDICE, W. H.—**A Month among the Mere Irish.** Small crown 8vo, 5*s.*

Folkestone Ritual Case: the Arguments, Proceedings, Judgment, and Report. Demy 8vo, 25*s.*

FORMBY, Rev. Henry.—**Ancient Rome and its Connection with the Christian Religion:** An Outline of the History of the City from its First Foundation down to the Erection of the Chair of St. Peter, A.D. 42–47. With numerous Illustrations of Ancient Monuments, Sculpture, and Coinage, and of the Antiquities of the Christian Catacombs. Royal 4to, cloth extra, £2 10*s.*; roxburgh half-morocco, £2 12*s.* 6*d.*

FRASER, Donald.—**Exchange Tables of Sterling and Indian Rupee Currency,** upon a new and extended system, embracing Values from One Farthing to One Hundred Thousand Pounds, and at rates progressing, in Sixteenths of a Penny, from 1*s.* 9*d.* to 2*s.* 3*d.* per Rupee. Royal 8vo, 10*s.* 6*d.*

FRISWELL, J. Hain.—**The Better Self.** Essays for Home Life. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

GARDINER, Samuel R., and J. BASS MULLINGER, M.A.—Introduction to the Study of English History. Large Crown 8vo, 9*s.*

GARDNER, Dorsey.—Quatre Bras, Ligny, and Waterloo. A Narrative of the Campaign in Belgium, 1815. With Maps and Plans. Demy 8vo, 16*s.*

GARDNER, J., M.D.—Longevity: The Means of Prolonging Life after Middle Age. Fourth Edition, revised and enlarged. Small crown 8vo, 4*s.*

GEDDES, James.—History of the Administration of John de Witt, Grand Pensionary of Holland. Vol. I. 1623–1654. With Portrait. Demy 8vo, 15*s.*

GENNA, E.—Irresponsible Philanthropists. Being some Chapters on the Employment of Gentlewomen. Small crown 8vo, 2*s.* 6*d.*

GEORGE, Henry.—Progress and Poverty: an Inquiry into the Causes of Industrial Depressions, and of Increase of Want with Increase of Wealth. The Remedy. Second Edition. Post 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.* Also a cheap edition. Sewed, price 6*d.*

GILBERT, Mrs.—Autobiography and other Memorials. Edited by Josiah Gilbert. Third and Cheaper Edition With Steel Portrait and several Wood Engravings. Crown 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.*

GLOVER, F., M.A.—Exempla Latina. A First Construing Book, with Short Notes, Lexicon, and an Introduction to the Analysis of Sentences. Fcap. 8vo, 2*s.*

GODWIN, William.—The Genius of Christianity Unveiled. Being Essays never before published. Edited, with a Preface, by C. Kegan Paul. Crown 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.*

GOLDSMID, Sir Francis Henry, Bart., Q.C., M.P.—Memoir of. With Portrait. Second Edition, revised. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

GOODENOUGH, Commodore J. G.—Memoir of, with Extracts from his Letters and Journals. Edited by his Widow. With Steel Engraved Portrait. Square 8vo, 5*s.*

*** Also a Library Edition with Maps, Woodcuts, and Steel Engraved Portrait. Square post 8vo, 14*s.*

GOSSE, Edmund W.—Studies in the Literature of Northern Europe. With a Frontispiece designed and etched by Alma Tadema. New and cheaper edition. Large crown 8vo, 6*s.*

GOULD, Rev. S. Baring, M.A.—The Vicar of Morwenstow: a Memoir of the Rev. R. S. Hawker. With Portrait. Third Edition, revised. Square post 8vo, 10*s.* 6*d.*

Germany, Present and Past. New and Cheaper Edition. Large crown 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.*

GOWAN, Major Walter E.—A. Ivanoff's Russian Grammar. (16th Edition.) Translated, enlarged, and arranged for use of Students of the Russian Language. Demy 8vo, 6*s.*

GRAHAM, William, M.A.—**The Creed of Science**, Religious, Moral, and Social. Demy 8vo, 12*s.*

GRIFFITH, Thomas, A.M.—**The Gospel of the Divine Life**: a Study of the Fourth Evangelist. Demy 8vo, 14*s.*

GRIMLEY, Rev. H. N., M.A.—**Tremadoc Sermons**, chiefly on the Spiritual Body, the Unseen World, and the Divine Humanity. Third Edition. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

GRÜNER, M.L.—**Studies of Blast Furnace Phenomena.** Translated by L. D. B. GORDON, F.R.S.E., F.G.S. Demy 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.*

GURNEY, Rev. Archer.—**Words of Faith and Cheer.** A Mission of Instruction and Suggestion. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

HAECKEL, Prof. Ernst.—**The History of Creation.** Translation revised by Professor E. RAY LANKESTER, M.A., F.R.S. With Coloured Plates and Genealogical Trees of the various groups of both Plants and Animals. 2 vols. Second Edition. Post 8vo, 32*s.*

The History of the Evolution of Man. With numerous Illustrations. 2 vols. Post 8vo, 32*s.*

Freedom in Science and Teaching. With a Prefatory Note by T. H. HUXLEY, F.R.S. Crown 8vo, 5*s.*

HALF-CROWN SERIES :—

Sister Dora: a Biography. By MARGARET LONSDALE.

True Words for Brave Men: a Book for Soldiers and Sailors. By the late CHARLES KINGSLEY.

An Inland Voyage. By R. L. STEVENSON.

Travels with a Donkey. By R. L. STEVENSON.

A Nook in the Apennines. By LEADER SCOTT.

Notes of Travel: being Extracts from the Journals of Count VON MOLTKE.

Letters from Russia. By Count VON MOLTKE.

English Sonnets. Collected and Arranged by J. DENNIS.

Lyrics of Love. From Shakespeare to Tennyson. Selected and Arranged by W. D. ADAMS.

London Lyrics. By F. LOCKER.

Home Songs for Quiet Hours. By the Rev. Canon R. H. BAYNES.

HALLECK'S **International Law**; or, Rules Regulating the Intercourse of States in Peace and War. A New Edition, revised, with Notes and Cases by Sir SHERSTON BAKER, Bart. 2 vols. Demy 8vo, 38*s.*

HARTINGTON, The Right Hon. the Marquis of, M.P.—**Election Speeches in 1879 and 1880.** With Address to the Electors of North-East Lancashire. Crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

HAWEIS, Rev. H. R., M.A.—**Current Coin.** Materialism—The Devil—Crime—Drunkenness—Pauperism—Emotion—Recreation—The Sabbath. Fourth and Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo, 5*s.*

Arrows in the Air. Fourth and Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo, 5*s.*

Speech in Season. Fifth and Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo, 5*s.*

Thoughts for the Times. Twelfth and Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo, 5*s.*

Unsectarian Family Prayers. New and Cheaper Edition. Fcap. 8vo, 1*s.* 6*d.*

HAWKINS, Edwards Comerford.—**Spirit and Form.** Sermons preached in the Parish Church of Leatherhead. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

HAYES, A. H., Junr.—**New Colorado, and the Santa Fé Trail.** With Map and 60 Illustrations. Crown 8vo, 9*s.*

HELLWALD, Baron F. Von.—**The Russians in Central Asia.** A Critical Examination, down to the Present Time, of the Geography and History of Central Asia. Translated by Lieut.-Col. THEODORE WIRGMAN, LL.B. With Map. Large post 8vo, 12*s.*

HENRY, Philip.—**Diaries and Letters of.** Edited by Matthew Henry Lee, M.A. Large crown 8vo, cloth, 7*s.* 6*d.*

HIDE, Albert.—**The Age to Come.** Small crown 8vo, cloth, 2*s.* 6*d.*

HIME, Major H. W. L., R.A.—**Wagnerism: A Protest.** Crown 8vo, cloth, 2*s.* 6*d.*

HINTON, J.—**The Place of the Physician.** To which is added **Essays on the Law of Human Life, and on the Relations between Organic and Inorganic Worlds.** Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

Philosophy and Religion. Selections from the MSS. of the late JAMES HINTON. Edited by CAROLINE HADDON. Crown 8vo, 5*s.*

Physiology for Practical Use. By Various Writers. With 50 Illustrations. Third and Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo, 5*s.*

An Atlas of Diseases of the Membrana Tympani. With Descriptive Text. Post 8vo, £1 10*s.*

The Questions of Aural Surgery. With Illustrations. 2 vols. Post 8vo, 12*s.* 6*d.*

Chapters on the Art of Thinking, and other Essays. With an Introduction by SHADWORTH HODGSON. Edited by C. H. HINTON. Crown 8vo, 8*s.* 6*d.*

The Mystery of Pain. New Edition. Fcap. 8vo, 1*s.*

Life and Letters. Edited by ELLICE HOPKINS, with an Introduction by Sir W. W. GULL, Bart., and Portrait engraved on Steel by C. H. JEENS. Fourth Edition. Crown 8vo, 8*s.* 6*d.*

HOOPER, Mary.—**Little Dinners: How to Serve them with Elegance and Economy.** Seventeenth Edition. Crown 8vo, 2*s.* 6*d.*

Cookery for Invalids, Persons of Delicate Digestion, and Children. Third Edition. Crown 8vo, 2*s.* 6*d.*

Every-Day Meals. Being Economical and Wholesome Recipes for Breakfast, Luncheon, and Supper. Fifth Edition. Crown 8vo, 2*s.* 6*d.*

HOPKINS, Ellice.—**Life and Letters of James Hinton,** with an Introduction by Sir W. W. GULL, Bart., and Portrait engraved on Steel by C. H. JEENS. Fourth Edition. Crown 8vo, 8*s.* 6*d.*

Work amongst Working Men. Fourth edition. Crown 8vo, cloth, 3*s.* 6*d.*

HORNER, The Misses.—**Walks in Florence.** A New and thoroughly Revised Edition. 2 vols. Crown 8vo. Limp cloth. With Illustrations.

VOL. I.—Churches, Streets, and Palaces. 10*s.* 6*d.*
VOL. II.—Public Galleries and Museums. 5*s.*

HOSPITALIER, E.—**The Modern Applications of Electricity.** Translated and Enlarged by JULIUS MAIER, Ph.D. With 170 Illustrations. Demy 8vo, 16*s.*

Household Readings on Prophecy. By a Layman. Small crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

HUGHES, Henry.—**The Redemption of the World.** Crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

HULL, Edmund C. P.—**The European in India.** With a Medical Guide for Anglo-Indians. By R. S. MAIR, M.D., F.R.C.S.E. Third Edition, Revised and Corrected. Post 8vo, 6*s.*

HUNTINGFORD, Rev. E., D.C.L.—**The Apocalypse.** With a Commentary and Introductory Essay. Demy 8vo, 9*s.*

HUTTON, Arthur, M.A.—**The Anglican Ministry:** Its Nature and Value in relation to the Catholic Priesthood. With a Preface by His Eminence Cardinal Newman. Demy 8vo, 14*s.*

HUTTON, Rev. C. F.—**Unconscious Testimony;** or, the Silent Witness of the Hebrew to the Truth of the Historical Scriptures. Crown 8vo, cloth, 2*s.* 6*d.*

JENKINS, E., and RAYMOND, J.—**The Architect's Legal Handbook.** Third Edition, Revised. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

JENKINS, Rev. R. C., M.A.—**The Privilege of Peter,** and the Claims of the Roman Church confronted with the Scriptures, the Councils, and the Testimony of the Popes themselves. Fcap. 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

JERVIS, Rev. W. Henley.—**The Gallican Church and the Revolution.** A Sequel to the History of the Church of France, from the Concordat of Bologna to the Revolution. Demy 8vo, 18*s.*

JOEL, L.—**A Consul's Manual and Shipowner's and Shipmaster's Practical Guide in their Transactions Abroad.** With Definitions of Nautical, Mercantile, and Legal Terms; a Glossary of Mercantile Terms in English, French, German, Italian, and Spanish; Tables of the Money, Weights, and Measures of the Principal Commercial Nations and their Equivalents in British Standards; and Forms of Consular and Notarial Acts. Demy 8vo, 12*s.*

JOHNSTONE, C. F., M.A.—**Historical Abstracts:** being Outlines of the History of some of the less known States of Europe. Crown 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.*

JOLLY, William, F.R.S.E., etc.—**The Life of John Duncan, Scotch Weaver and Botanist.** With Sketches of his Friends and Notices of his Times. Large crown 8vo, with etched portrait, cloth, 9*s.*

JONCOURT, Madame Marie de.—**Wholesome Cookery.** Crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

JONES, C. A.—**The Foreign Freaks of Five Friends.** With 30 Illustrations. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

JONES, Lucy.—**Puddings and Sweets:** being Three Hundred and Sixty-five Receipts approved by experience. Crown 8vo, 2*s.* 6*d.*

JOYCE, P. W., LL.D., etc.—**Old Celtic Romances.** Translated from the Gaelic. Crown 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.*

JOYNES, J. L.—**The Adventures of a Tourist in Ireland.** Second edition. Small crown 8vo, cloth, 2*s.* 6*d.*

KAUFMANN, Rev. M., B.A.—**Socialism:** its Nature, its Dangers, and its Remedies considered. Crown 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.*

Utopias; or, Schemes of Social Improvement, from Sir Thomas More to Karl Marx. Crown 8vo, 5*s.*

KAY, Joseph.—**Free Trade in Land.** Edited by his Widow. With Preface by the Right Hon. JOHN BRIGHT, M.P. Sixth Edition. Crown 8vo, 5*s.*

KEMPIS, Thomas à.—**Of the Imitation of Christ.** Parchment Library Edition, 6*s.*; or vellum, 7*s.* 6*d.* The Red Line Edition, fcap. 8vo, red edges, 2*s.* 6*d.* The Cabinet Edition, small 8vo, cloth limp, 1*s.*; cloth boards, red edges, 1*s.* 6*d.* The Miniature Edition, red edges, 32mo, 1*s.*

*** All the above Editions may be had in various extra bindings.

KENT, C.—**Corona Catholica ad Petri successoris Pedes Oblata. De Summi Pontificis Leonis XIII. Assumptione Epigramma.** In Quinquaginta Linguis. Fcap. 4to, 15*s.*

KERNER, Dr. A.—**Flowers and their Unbidden Guests.** Translation edited by W. OGLE, M.A., M.D. With Illustrations. Square 8vo, 9*s.*

KETTLEWELL, Rev. S.—**Thomas à Kempis and the Brothers of Common Life.** 2 vols. With Frontispieces. Demy 8vo, 30*s.*

KIDD, Joseph, M.D.—**The Laws of Therapeutics**; or, the Science and Art of Medicine. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

KINAHAN, G. Henry, M.R.I.A.—**The Geology of Ireland,** with numerous Illustrations and a Geological Map of Ireland. Square 8vo, 15*s.*

KINGSFORD, Anna, M.D.—**The Perfect Way in Diet.** A Treatise advocating a Return to the Natural and Ancient Food of our Race. Small crown 8vo, 2*s.*

KINGSLEY, Charles, M.A.—**Letters and Memories of his Life.** Edited by his Wife. With two Steel Engraved Portraits, and Vignettes on Wood. Eleventh Cabinet Edition. 2 vols. Crown 8vo, 12*s.*

All Saints' Day, and other Sermons. Edited by the Rev. W. HARRISON. Third Edition. Crown 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.*

True Words for Brave Men. A Book for Soldiers' and Sailors' Libraries. Eighth Edition. Crown 8vo, 2*s.* 6*d.*

KNIGHT, Professor W.—**Studies in Philosophy and Literature.** Large Post 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.*

KNOX, Alexander A.—**The New Playground**; or, Wanderings in Algeria. New and cheaper edition. Large crown 8vo, 6*s.*

LAURIE, S. S.—**The Training of Teachers,** and other Educational Papers. Crown 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.*

LEE, Rev. F. G., D.C.L.—**The Other World**; or, Glimpses of the Supernatural. 2 vols. A New Edition. Crown 8vo, 15*s.*

LEWIS, Edward Dillon.—**A Draft Code of Criminal Law and Procedure.** Demy 8vo, 21*s.*

LINDSAY, W. Lauder, M.D.—**Mind in the Lower Animals in Health and Disease.** 2 vols. Demy 8vo, 32*s.*
Vol. I.—Mind in Health. Vol. II.—Mind in Disease.

LLOYD, Walter.—**The Hope of the World**: An Essay on Universal Redemption. Crown 8vo, 5*s.*

LONSDALE, Margaret.—**Sister Dora**: a Biography. With Portrait. Twenty-fifth Edition. Crown 8vo, 2*s.* 6*d.*

LORIMER, Peter, D.D.—**John Knox and the Church of England.** His Work in her Pulpit, and his Influence upon her Liturgy, Articles, and Parties. Demy 8vo, 12*s.*

John Wiclif and his English Precursors. By GERHARD VICTOR LECHLER. Translated from the German, with additional Notes. New and Cheaper Edition. Demy 8vo, 10*s.* 6*d.*

LOWDER, Charles.—**A Biography.** By the Author of "St. Teresa." New and Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo. With Portrait. 3*s.* 6*d.*

MACHIAVELLI, Niccoli. **The Prince.** Translated from the Italian by N. H. T. Small crown 8vo, printed on hand-made paper, bevelled boards, 6*s.*

MACKENZIE, Alexander.—**How India is Governed.** Being an Account of England's work in India. Small crown 8vo, 2*s.*

MACNAUGHT, Rev. John.—**Cœna Domini:** An Essay on the Lord's Supper, its Primitive Institution, Apostolic Uses, and Subsequent History. Demy 8vo, 14*s.*

MAGNUS, Mrs.—**About the Jews since Bible Times.** From the Babylonian Exile till the English Exodus. Small crown 8vo, 6*s.*

MAIR, R. S., M.D., F.R.C.S.E.—**The Medical Guide for Anglo-Indians.** Being a Compendium of Advice to Europeans in India, relating to the Preservation and Regulation of Health. With a Supplement on the Management of Children in India. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, limp cloth, 3*s.* 6*d.*

MANNING, His Eminence Cardinal.—**The True Story of the Vatican Council.** Crown 8vo, 5*s.*

Many Voices. Crown 8vo, cloth extra, red edges, 6*s.*

MARKHAM, Capt. Albert Hastings, R.N.—**The Great Frozen Sea:** A Personal Narrative of the Voyage of the *Alert* during the Arctic Expedition of 1875-6. With 6 Full-page Illustrations, 2 Maps, and 27 Woodcuts. Fifth and Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

A Polar Reconnaissance: being the Voyage of the *Isbjörn* to Novaya Zemlya in 1879. With 10 Illustrations. Demy 8vo, 16*s.*

Marriage and Maternity; or, Scripture Wives and Mothers. Small crown 8vo, 4*s.* 6*d.*

MARTINEAU, Gertrude.—**Outline Lessons on Morals.** Small crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

McGRATH, Terence.—**Pictures from Ireland.** New and Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo, 2*s.*

MEREDITH, M.A.—**Theotokos, the Example for Woman.** Dedicated, by permission, to Lady AGNES WOOD. Revised by the Venerable Archdeacon DENISON. 32mo, limp cloth, 1*s.* 6*d.*

MILLER, Edward.—**The History and Doctrines of Irvingism;** or, the so-called Catholic and Apostolic Church. 2 vols. Large post 8vo, 25*s.*

The Church in Relation to the State. Large crown 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.*

MILNE, James.—**Tables of Exchange** for the Conversion of Sterling Money into Indian and Ceylon Currency, at Rates from 1*s.* 8*d.* to 2*s.* 3*d.* per Rupee. Second Edition. Demy 8vo, £2 2*s.*

MINCHIN, J. G.—**Bulgaria since the War:** Notes of a Tour in the Autumn of 1879. Small crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

MIVART, St. George.—**Nature and Thought:** An Introduction to a Natural Philosophy. Demy 8vo, cloth, 10*s.* 6*d.*

MOCKLER, E.—**A Grammar of the Baloochee Language,** as it is spoken in Makran (Ancient Gedrosia), in the Persia-Arabic and Roman characters. Fcap. 8vo, 5*s.*

MOLESWORTH, Rev. W. Nassau, M.A.—**History of the Church of England from 1660.** Large crown 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.*

MORELL, J. R.—**Euclid Simplified in Method and Language.** Being a Manual of Geometry. Compiled from the most important French Works, approved by the University of Paris and the Minister of Public Instruction. Fcap. 8vo, 2*s.* 6*d.*

MORSE, E. S., Ph.D.—**First Book of Zoology.** With numerous Illustrations. New and Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo, 2*s.* 6*d.*

MURPHY, John Nicholas.—**The Chair of Peter;** or, the Papacy considered in its Institution, Development, and Organization, and in the Benefits which for over Eighteen Centuries it has conferred on Mankind. Demy 8vo, cloth, 18*s.*

MUNRO, Major-Gen. Sir Thomas, Bart., K.C.B., Governor of Madras.—SELECTIONS FROM HIS MINUTES AND OTHER OFFICIAL WRITINGS. Edited, with an Introductory Memoir, by Sir ALEXANDER ARBUTHNOT, K.C.S.I., C.I.E. 2 vols. Demy 8vo, 30*s.*

NELSON, J. H., M.A.—**A Prospectus of the Scientific Study of the Hindû Law.** Demy 8vo, 9*s.*

NEWMAN, J. H., D.D.—**Characteristics from the Writings of.** Being Selections from his various Works. Arranged with the Author's personal Approval. Sixth Edition. With Portrait. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

*** A Portrait of Cardinal Newman, mounted for framing, can be had, 2*s.* 6*d.*

New Werther. By LOKI. Small crown 8vo, 2*s.* 6*d.*

NICHOLSON, Edward Byron.—**The Gospel according to the Hebrews.** Its Fragments Translated and Annotated with a Critical Analysis of the External and Internal Evidence relating to it. Demy 8vo, 9*s.* 6*d.*

A New Commentary on the Gospel according to Matthew. Demy 8vo, 12*s.*

The Rights of an Animal. Crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

NICOLS, Arthur, F.G.S., F.R.G.S.—**Chapters from the Physical History of the Earth:** an Introduction to Geology and Palæontology. With numerous Illustrations. Crown 8vo, 5*s.*

NOPS, Marianne.—**Class Lessons on Euclid.** Part I. containing the First two Books of the Elements. Crown 8vo, cloth, 2*s.* 6*d.*

Notes on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians. For Readers of the Authorised Version or the Original Greek. Demy 8vo, 2*s.* 6*d.*

Nuces: Exercises on the Syntax of the Public School Latin Primer. New Edition in Three Parts. Crown 8vo, each 1*s.*

*** The Three Parts can also be had bound together, 3*s.*

OATES, Frank, F.R.G.S.—**Matabele Land and the Victoria Falls.** A Naturalist's Wanderings in the Interior of South Africa. Edited by C. G. Oates, B.A. With numerous Illustrations and 4 Maps. Demy 8vo, 21*s.*

OGLE, W., M.D., F.R.C.P.—**Aristotle on the Parts of Animals.** Translated, with Introduction and Notes. Royal 8vo, 12*s.* 6*d.*

O'MEARA, Kathleen.—**Frederic Ozanam,** Professor of the Sorbonne: His Life and Work. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.*

Henri Perreyve and his Counsels to the Sick. Small crown 8vo, 5*s.*

OSBORNE, Rev. W. A.—**The Revised Version of the New Testament.** A Critical Commentary, with Notes upon the Text. Crown 8vo, cloth, 5*s.*

OTTLEY, H. Bickersteth.—**The Great Dilemma.** Christ His Own Witness or His Own Accuser. Six Lectures. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, cloth, 3*s.* 6*d.*

Our Public Schools—Eton, Harrow, Winchester, Rugby, Westminster, Marlborough, The Charterhouse. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

OWEN, F. M.—**John Keats:** a Study. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

OWEN, Rev. Robert, B.D.—**Sanctorale Catholicum;** or, Book of Saints. With Notes, Critical, Exegetical, and Historical. Demy 8vo, 18*s.*

An Essay on the Communion of Saints. Including an Examination of the Cultus Sanctorum. 2*s.*

OXENHAM, Rev. F. Nutcombe.—**What is the Truth as to Everlasting Punishment.** Part II. Being an Historical Inquiry into the Witness and Weight of certain Anti-Origenist Councils. Crown 8vo, 2*s.* 6*d.*

*** Parts I. and II. complete in one volume, 7*s.*

OXONIENSES.—**Romanism, Protestantism, Anglicanism.** Being a Layman's View of some questions of the Day. Together with Remarks on Dr. Littledale's "Plain Reasons against joining the Church of Rome." Crown 8vo, cloth, 3*s.* 6*d.*

PALMER, the late William.—**Notes of a Visit to Russia in 1840-1841.** Selected and arranged by John H. Cardinal Newman, with portrait. Crown 8vo, cloth, 8*s.* 6*d.*

Parchment Library. Choicely Printed on hand-made paper, limp parchment antique, 6*s.*; vellum, 7*s.* 6*d.* each volume.

French Lyrics. Selected and Annotated by George Saintsbury. With a minature frontispiece designed and etched by H. G. Glindoni.

Parchment Library.—*continued.*

The Fables of Mr. John Gay. With Memoir by AUSTIN DOBSON, and an etched portrait from an unfinished Oil Sketch by Sir Godfrey Kneller.

Select Letters of Percy Bysshe Shelley. Edited, with an Introduction, by RICHARD GARNETT.

The Christian Year. Thoughts in Verse for the Sundays and Holy Days throughout the Year. With Miniature Portrait of the Rev. J. Keble, after a Drawing by G. Richmond, R.A.

Shakspere's Works. Now publishing in Twelve Monthly Volumes.

Eighteenth Century Essays. Selected and Edited by AUSTIN DOBSON. With a Miniature Frontispiece by R. Caldecott.

Q. Horati Flacci Opera. Edited by F. A. CORNISH, Assistant Master at Eton. With a Frontispiece after a design by L. ALMA TADEMA, etched by Leopold Lowenstam.

Edgar Allan Poe's Poems. With an Essay on his Poetry by ANDREW LANG, and a Frontispiece by Linley Sambourne.

Shakspere's Sonnets. Edited by EDWARD DOWDEN. With a Frontispiece etched by Leopold Lowenstam, after the Death Mask.

English Odes. Selected by EDMUND W. GOSSE. With Frontispiece on India paper by Hamo Thornycroft, A.R.A.

Of the Imitation of Christ. By THOMAS À KEMPIS. A revised Translation. With Frontispiece on India paper, from a Design by W. B. Richmond.

Tennyson's The Princess: a Medley. With a Miniature Frontispiece by H. M. Paget, and a Tailpiece in Outline by Gordon Browne.

Poems: Selected from PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY. Dedicated to Lady Shelley. With a Preface by RICHARD GARNETT and a Miniature Frontispiece.

Tennyson's "In Memoriam." With a Miniature Portrait in *eau-forte* by Le Rat, after a Photograph by the late Mrs. Cameron.

PARKER, Joseph, D.D.—**The Paraclete:** An Essay on the Personality and Ministry of the Holy Ghost, with some reference to current discussions. Second Edition. Demy 8vo, 12*s.*

PARR, Capt. H. Hallam, C.M.G.—**A Sketch of the Kafir and Zulu Wars:** Guadana to Isandhlwana. With Maps. Small crown 8vo, 5*s.*

PARSLOE, Joseph.—**Our Railways.** Sketches, Historical and Descriptive. With Practical Information as to Fares and Rates, etc., and a Chapter on Railway Reform. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

PATTISON, Mrs. Mark.—**The Renaissance of Art in France.** With Nineteen Steel Engravings. 2 vols. Demy 8vo, 32*s.*

PEARSON, Rev. S.—**Week-day Living.** A Book for Young Men and Women. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 5*s.*

PENRICE, Maj. J., B.A.—**A Dictionary and Glossary of the Ko-ran.** With Copious Grammatical References and Explanations of the Text. 4to, 21*s.*

PESCHEL, Dr. Oscar.—**The Races of Man and their Geographical Distribution.** Large crown 8vo, 9*s.*

PETERS, F. H.—**The Nicomachean Ethics of Aristotle.** Translated by. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

PIDGEON, D.—**An Engineer's Holiday;** or, Notes of a Round Trip from Long. 0° to 0°. New and cheaper edition. Large crown 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.*

PLAYFAIR, Lieut.-Col.—**Travels in the Footsteps of Bruce in Algeria and Tunis.** Illustrated by facsimiles of Bruce's original Drawings, Photographs, Maps, etc. Royal 4to cloth, bevelled boards, gilt leaves, £3 3*s.*

POLLOCK, Frederick.—**Spinoza, his Life and Philosophy.** Demy 8vo, 16*s.*

POLLOCK, W. H.—**Lectures on French Poets.** Delivered at the Royal Institution. Small crown 8vo, 5*s.*

POOR, Laura E.—**Sanskrit and its Kindred Literatures.** Studies in Comparative Mythology. Small crown 8vo, 5*s.*

PRICE, Prof. Bonamy.—**Currency and Banking.** Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

Chapters on Practical Political Economy. Being the Substance of Lectures delivered before the University of Oxford. New and Cheaper Edition. Large post 8vo, 5*s.*

Proteus and Amadeus. A Correspondence. Edited by AUBREY DE VERE. Crown 8vo, 5*s.*

Pulpit Commentary, The. (Old Testament Series.) Edited by the Rev. J. S. EXELL and the Rev. Canon H. D. M. SPENCE.

Genesis. By the Rev. T. WHITELAW, M.A.; with Homilies by the Very Rev. J. F. MONTGOMERY, D.D., Rev. Prof. R. A. REDFORD, M.A., LL.B., Rev. F. HASTINGS, Rev. W. ROBERTS, M.A. An Introduction to the Study of the Old Testament by the Rev. Canon FARRAR, D.D., F.R.S.; and Introductions to the Pentateuch by the Right Rev. H. COTTERILL, D.D., and Rev. T. WHITELAW, M.A. Seventh Edition. 1 vol., 15*s.*

Exodus. By the Rev. Canon RAWLINSON. With Homilies by Rev. J. ORR, Rev. D. YOUNG, Rev. C. A. GOODHART, Rev. J. URQUHART, and the Rev. H. T. ROBJOHNS. Third Edition. 16*s.*

Pulpit Commentary, The.—*continued.*

Leviticus. By the Rev. Prebendary MEYRICK, M.A. With Introductions by the Rev. R. COLLINS, Rev. Professor A. CAVE, and Homilies by Rev. Prof. REDFORD, LL.B., Rev. J. A. MACDONALD, Rev. W. CLARKSON, Rev. S. R. ALDRIDGE, LL.B., and Rev. MCCHEYNE EDGAR. Third Edition. 15*s.*

Numbers. By the Rev. R. WINTERBOTHAM, LL.B.; with Homilies by the Rev. Professor W. BINNIE, D.D., Rev. E. S. PROUT, M.A., Rev. D. YOUNG, Rev. J. WAITE, and an Introduction by the Rev. THOMAS WHITELAW, M.A. Fourth Edition. 15*s.*

Deuteronomy. By the Rev. W. L. ALEXANDER, D.D. With Homilies by Rev. C. Clemance, D.D., Rev. J. Orr, B.D., Rev. R. M. Edgar, M.A., Rev. D. Davies, M.A. Second edition. 15*s.*

Joshua. By Rev. J. J. LIAS, M.A.; with Homilies by Rev. S. R. ALDRIDGE, LL.B., Rev. R. GLOVER, REV. E. DE PRESSENSÉ, D.D., Rev. J. WAITE, B.A., Rev. F. W. ADENEY, M.A.; and an Introduction by the Rev. A. PLUMMER, M.A., D.D. Fourth Edition. 12*s.* 6*d.*

Judges and Ruth. By the Right Rev. Lord A. C. HERVEY, D.D., and Rev. J. MORRISON, D.D.; with Homilies by Rev. A. F. MUIR, M.A., Rev. W. F. ADENEY, M.A., Rev. W. M. STATHAM, and Rev. Professor J. THOMSON, M.A. Fourth Edition. 10*s.* 6*d.*

1 Samuel. By the Very Rev. R. P. SMITH, D.D.; with Homilies by Rev. DONALD FRASER, D.D., Rev. Prof. CHAPMAN, and Rev. B. DALE. Fifth Edition. 15*s.*

1 Kings. By the Rev. JOSEPH HAMMOND, LL.B. With Homilies by the Rev. E. DE PRESSENSÉ, D.D., Rev. J. WAITE, B.A., Rev. A. ROWLAND, LL.B., Rev. J. A. MACDONALD, and Rev. J. URQUHART. Third Edition. 15*s.*

Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther. By Rev. Canon G. RAWLINSON, M.A.; with Homilies by Rev. Prof. J. R. THOMSON, M.A., Rev. Prof. R. A. REDFORD, LL.B., M.A., Rev. W. S. LEWIS, M.A., Rev. J. A. MACDONALD, Rev. A. MACKENNAL, B.A., Rev. W. CLARKSON, B.A., Rev. F. HASTINGS, Rev. W. DINWIDDIE, LL.B., Rev. Prof. ROWLANDS, B.A., Rev. G. WOOD, B.A., Rev. Prof. P. C. BARKER, LL.B., M.A., and the Rev. J. S. EXELL. Fifth Edition. 1 vol., 12*s.* 6*d.*

Pulpit Commentary, The. (New Testament Series.)

St. Mark. By Very Dean BICKERSTETH, D.D.; with Homilies by Rev. Prof. THOMSON, M.A.,, Rev. Prof. GIVEN, M.A., Rev. Prof. Johnson, M.A., Rev. A. ROWLAND, B.A., LL.B., Rev. A. MUIR, and Rev. R. GREEN. 2 vols. Second Edition. 21*s.*

Punjaub, The, and North-Western Frontier of India. By an Old Punjaubee. Crown 8vo, 5*s.*

Rabbi Jeshua. An Eastern Story. Crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

RADCLIFFE, Frank R. Y.—**The New Politicus.** Small crown 8vo, 2*s.* 6*d.*

RAVENSHAW, John Henry, B.C.S.—**Gaur: Its Ruins and Inscriptions.** Edited by his Widow. With 44 Photographic Illustrations, and 25 facsimiles of Inscriptions. Royal 4to, £3 13*s.* 6*d.*

READ, Carveth.—**On the Theory of Logic:** An Essay. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

Realities of the Future Life. Small crown 8vo, 1*s.* 6*d.*

RENDELL, J. M.—**Concise Handbook of the Island of Madeira.** With Plan of Funchal and Map of the Island. Fcap. 8vo, 1*s.* 6*d.*

REYNOLDS, Rev. J. W.—**The Supernatural in Nature.** A Verification by Free Use of Science. Second Edition, revised and enlarged. Demy 8vo, 14*s.*

The Mystery of Miracles. New and Enlarged Edition. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

RIBOT, Prof. Th.—**English Psychology.** Second Edition. A Revised and Corrected Translation from the latest French Edition. Large post 8vo, 9*s.*

Heredity: A Psychological Study on its Phenomena, its Laws, its Causes, and its Consequences. Large crown 8vo, 9*s.*

ROBERTSON, The late Rev. F. W., M.A.—**Life and Letters of.** Edited by the Rev. Stopford Brooke, M.A.

I. Two vols., uniform with the Sermons. With Steel Portrait. Crown 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.*
II. Library Edition, in Demy 8vo, with Portrait. 12*s.*
III. A Popular Edition, in 1 vol. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

Sermons. Four Series. Small crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

The Human Race, and other Sermons. Preached at Cheltenham, Oxford, and Brighton. Large post 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.*

Notes on Genesis. New and Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

Expository Lectures on St. Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians. A New Edition. Small crown 8vo, 5*s.*

Lectures and Addresses, with other Literary Remains. A New Edition. Crown 8vo, 5*s.*

An Analysis of Mr. Tennyson's "In Memoriam." (Dedicated by Permission to the Poet-Laureate.) Fcap. 8vo, 2*s.*

The Education of the Human Race. Translated from the German of Gotthold Ephraim Lessing. Fcap. 8vo, 2*s.* 6*d.*

The above Works can also be had, bound in half morocco.

*** A Portrait of the late Rev. F. W. Robertson, mounted for framing, can be had, 2*s.* 6*d.*

RODWELL, G. F., F.R.A.S., F.C.S.—**Etna: A History of the Mountain and its Eruptions.** With Maps and Illustrations. Square 8vo, 9*s.*

ROLLESTON, T. W. H., B.A.—**The Encheiridion of Epictetus.** Translated from the Greek, with a Preface and Notes. Small crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

Rosmini's Origin of Ideas. Translated from the Fifth Italian Edition of the Nuovo Saggio *Sull' origine delle idee.* 3 vols. Demy 8vo, cloth. Vol. I. now ready, price 16*s.*

Rosmini's Philosophical System. Translated, with a Sketch of the Author's Life, Bibliography, Introduction, and Notes by THOMAS DAVIDSON. Demy 8vo, 16*s.*

RULE, Martin, M.A.—**The Life and Times of St. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of the Britains.** 2 vols. Demy 8vo, cloth, 21*s.*

SALTS, Rev. Alfred, LL.D.—**Godparents at Confirmation.** With a Preface by the Bishop of Manchester. Small crown 8vo, limp cloth, 2*s.*

SALVATOR, Archduke Ludwig.—**Levkosia, the Capital of Cyprus.** Crown 4to, 10*s.* 6*d.*

SAMUEL, Sydney M.—**Jewish Life in the East.** Small crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

SAYCE, Rev. Archibald Henry.—**Introduction to the Science of Language.** 2 vols. Large post 8vo, 25*s.*

Scientific Layman. The New Truth and the Old Faith: are they Incompatible? Demy 8vo, 10*s.* 6*d.*

SCOONES, W. Baptiste.—**Four Centuries of English Letters:** A Selection of 350 Letters by 150 Writers, from the Period of the Paston Letters to the Present Time. Second Edition. Large crown 8vo, 9*s.*

SCOTT, Robert H.—**Weather Charts and Storm Warnings.** Second Edition. Illustrated. Crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

SHAKSPEARE, Charles.—**Saint Paul at Athens.** Spiritual Christianity in relation to some aspects of Modern Thought. Five Sermons preached at St. Stephen's Church, Westbourne Park. With a Preface by the Rev. Canon FARRAR. Crown 8vo, 5*s.*

SHELLEY, Lady.—**Shelley Memorials from Authentic Sources.** With (now first printed) an Essay on Christianity by Percy Bysshe Shelley. With Portrait. Third Edition. Crown 8vo, 5*s.*

SHILLITO, Rev. Joseph.—**Womanhood:** its Duties, Temptations, and Privileges. A Book for Young Women. Third Edition. Crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

SHIPLEY, Rev. Orby, M.A.—**Church Tracts: or, Studies in Modern Problems.** By various Writers. 2 vols. Crown 8vo, 5*s.* each.

SHIPLEY, Rev. Orby, M.A.—continued.

Principles of the Faith in Relation to Sin. Topics for Thought in Times of Retreat. Eleven Addresses delivered during a Retreat of Three Days to Persons living in the World. Demy 8vo, 12*s.*

SKINNER, the late James.—**A Synopsis of Moral and Ascetical Theology.** With a Catalogue of Ancient and Modern Authorities. Arranged according to Centuries. With a prefatory Note by Rev. T. T. CARTER. Demy 4to, cloth, 10*s.* 6*d.*

Sister Augustine, Superior of the Sisters of Charity at the St. Johannis Hospital at Bonn. Authorised Translation by HANS THARAU, from the German "Memorials of AMALIE VON LASAULX." Second Edition. Large crown 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.*

SMITH, Edward, M.D., LL.B., F.R.S.—**Health and Disease,** as Influenced by the Daily, Seasonal, and other Cyclical Changes in the Human System. A New Edition. Post 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.*

Tubercular Consumption in its Early and Remediable Stages. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

SPEDDING, James.—**Reviews and Discussions, Literary, Political, and Historical not relating to Bacon.** Demy 8vo, 12*s.* 6*d.*

Evenings with a Reviewer; or, Bacon and Macaulay. With a Prefatory Notice by G. S. VENABLES, Q.C. 2 vols. Demy 8vo, 18*s.*

STAPFER, Paul.—**Shakspeare and Classical Antiquity:** Greek and Latin Antiquity as presented in Shakspeare's Plays. Translated by EMILY J. CAREY. Large post 8vo, 12*s.*

ST. BERNARD.—**A Little Book** on the Love of God. Translated by MARIANNE CAROLINE and COVENTRY PATMORE. Extra, gilt top, 4*s.* 6*d.*

STEPHENS, Archibald John, LL.D.—**The Folkestone Ritual Case.** The Substance of the Argument delivered before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council on behalf of the Respondents. Demy 8vo, 6*s.*

STEVENSON, Rev. W. F.—**Hymns for the Church and Home.** Selected and Edited by the Rev. W. Fleming Stevenson.

The Hymn Book consists of Three Parts:—I. For Public Worship.—II. For Family and Private Worship.—III. For Children.

*** Published in various forms and prices, the latter ranging from 8*d.* to 6*s.*

Lists and full particulars will be furnished on application to the Publishers.

STEVENSON, Robert Louis.—**Travels with a Donkey in the Cevennes.** With Frontispiece by Walter Crane. Small crown 8vo, 2*s.* 6*d.*

STEVENSON, Robert Louis.—continued.

An Inland Voyage. With Frontispiece by Walter Crane. Small Crown 8vo, 2*s.* 6*d.*

Virginibus Puerisque, and other Papers. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

STRACHEY, Sir John, G.C.S.I., and *Lieut.-Gen. Richard STRACHEY, R.E., F.R.S.*—**The Finances and Public Works of India, from 1869 to 1881.** Demy 8vo, 18*s.*

STRECKER-WISLICENUS.—**Organic Chemistry.** Translated and Edited, with Extensive Additions, by W. R. HODGKINSON, Ph.D., and A. J. GREENAWAY, F.I.C. Demy 8vo, 21*s.*

SULLY, James, M.A.—**Sensation and Intuition.** Demy 8vo, 10*s.* 6*d.*

Pessimism: a History and a Criticism. Second Edition. Demy 8vo, 14*s.*

SYME, David.—**Outlines of an Industrial Science.** Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

Representative Government in England. Its Faults and Failures. Second Edition. Large crown 8vo, 6*s.*

TAYLOR, Algernon.—**Guienne.** Notes of an Autumn Tour. Crown 8vo, 4*s.* 6*d.*

THOM, J. Hamilton.—**Laws of Life after the Mind of Christ.** Crown 8vo, cloth, 7*s.* 6*d.*

THOMSON, J. Turnbull.—**Social Problems; or, An Inquiry into the Laws of Influence.** With Diagrams. Demy 8vo, 10*s.* 6*d.*

TIDMAN, Paul F.—**Gold and Silver Money.** Part I.—A Plain Statement. Part II.—Objections Answered. Third Edition. Crown 8vo, 1*s.*

TIPPLE, Rev. S. A.—**Sunday Mornings at Norwood.** Prayers and Sermons. Crown 8vo, cloth, 6*s.*

TODHUNTER, Dr. J.—**A Study of Shelley.** Crown 8vo, 7*s.*

TREMENHEERE, Hugh Seymour, C.B.—**A Manual of the Principles of Government,** as set forth by the Authorities of Ancient and Modern Times. New and enlarged Edition. Crown 8vo, 5*s.*

TUKE, Daniel Hack, M.D., F.R.C.P.—**Chapters in the History of the Insane in the British Isles.** With 4 Illustrations. Large crown 8vo, 12*s.*

TWINING, Louisa.—**Workhouse Visiting and Management during Twenty-Five Years.** Small crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

UPTON, Major R. D.—**Gleanings from the Desert of Arabia.** Large post 8vo, 10*s.* 6*d.*

VACUUS, Viator.—**Flying South.** Recollections of France and its Littoral. Small crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

VAUGHAN, H. Halford.—**New Readings and Renderings of Shakespeare's Tragedies.** 2 vols. Demy 8vo, 25*s.*

VILLARI, Professor.—**Niccolò Machiavelli and his Times.** Translated by Linda Villari. 2 vols. Large post 8vo, 24*s.*

VOLCKXSOM, E. W. V.—**Catechism of Elementary Modern Chemistry.** Small crown 8vo, 3*s.*

VYNER, Lady Mary.—**Every Day a Portion.** Adapted from the Bible and the Prayer Book, for the Private Devotion of those living in Widowhood. Collected and Edited by Lady Mary Vyner, Square crown 8vo, 5*s.*

WALDSTEIN, Charles, Ph.D.—**The Balance of Emotion and Intellect;** an Introductory Essay to the Study of Philosophy. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

WALLER, Rev. C. B.—**The Apocalypse,** reviewed under the Light of the Doctrine of the Unfolding Ages, and the Restitution of All Things. Demy 8vo, 12*s.*

WALPOLE, Chas. George.—**History of Ireland from the Earliest Times to the Union with Great Britain.** With 5 Maps and Appendices. Crown 8vo, 10*s.* 6*d.*

WALSHE, Walter Hayle, M.D.—**Dramatic Singing Physiologically Estimated.** Crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

WATSON, Sir Thomas, Bart., M.D.—**The Abolition of Zymotic Diseases,** and of other similar Enemies of Mankind. Small crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

WEDMORE, Frederick.—**The Masters of Genre Painting.** With Sixteen Illustrations. Crown 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.*

WHEWELL, William, D.D.—**His Life and Selections from his Correspondence.** By Mrs. STAIR DOUGLAS. With a Portrait from a Painting by SAMUEL LAURENCE. Demy 8vo, 21*s.*

WHITE, A. D., LL.D.—**Warfare of Science.** With Prefatory Note by Professor Tyndall. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

WHITE, F. A.—**English Grammar.** Small crown 8vo, cloth, 2*s.*

WHITNEY, Prof. William Dwight.—**Essentials of English Grammar,** for the Use of Schools. Crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

WICKSTEED, P. H.—**Dante:** Six Sermons. Crown 8vo, 5*s.*

WILLIAMS, Rowland, D.D.—**Psalms, Litanies, Counsels, and Collects for Devout Persons.** Edited by his Widow. New and Popular Edition. Crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

WILLIAMS, Rowland D.D.—continued.

Stray Thoughts Collected from the Writings of the late Rowland Williams, D.D. Edited by his Widow. Crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

WILLIS, R., M.D.—**Servetus and Calvin**: a Study of an Important Epoch in the Early History of the Reformation. 8vo, 16*s.*

William Harvey. A History of the Discovery of the Circulation of the Blood: with a Portrait of Harvey after Faithorne. Demy 8vo, 14*s.*

WILSON, Sir Erasmus.—**Egypt of the Past.** With Chromo-lithograph and numerous Illustrations in the text. Second Edition, Revised. Crown 8vo, 12*s.*

WILSON, H. Schütz.—**The Tower and Scaffold.** A Miniature Monograph. Large fcap. 8vo, 1*s.*

WOLLSTONECRAFT, Mary.—**Letters to Imlay.** New Edition, with a Prefatory Memoir by C. KEGAN PAUL. Two Portraits in *eau-forte* by Anna Lea Merritt. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

WOLTMANN, Dr. Alfred, and WOERMANN, Dr. Karl.—**History of Painting.** Edited by Sidney Colvin. Vol. I. Painting in Antiquity and the Middle Ages. With numerous Illustrations. Medium 8vo, 28*s.*; bevelled boards, gilt leaves, 30*s.*

WOOD, Major-General J. Creighton.—**Doubling the Consonant.** Small crown 8vo, 1*s.* 6*d.*

Word was Made Flesh. Short Family Readings on the Epistles for each Sunday of the Christian Year. Demy 8vo, 10*s.* 6*d.*

WREN, Sir Christopher.—**His Family and His Times.** With Original Letters, and a Discourse on Architecture hitherto unpublished. By LUCY PHILLIMORE. With Portrait. Demy 8vo, 14*s.*

WRIGHT, Rev. David, M.A.—**Waiting for the Light,** and other Sermons. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

YORKE, J. F.—**Notes on Evolution and Christianity.** Crown 8vo, cloth, 6*s.*

YOUMANS, Eliza A.—**An Essay on the Culture of the Observing Powers of Children,** especially in connection with the Study of Botany. Edited, with Notes and a Supplement, by Joseph Payne, F.C.P., Author of "Lectures on the Science and Art of Education," etc. Crown 8vo, 2*s.* 6*d.*

First Book of Botany. Designed to Cultivate the Observing Powers of Children. With 300 Engravings. New and Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo, 2*s.* 6*d.*

YOUMANS, Edward L., M.D.—**A Class Book of Chemistry,** on the Basis of the New System. With 200 Illustrations. Crown 8vo, 5*s.*

THE INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC SERIES.

I. **Forms of Water**: a Familiar Exposition of the Origin and Phenomena of Glaciers. By J. Tyndall, LL.D., F.R.S. With 25 Illustrations. Eighth Edition. Crown 8vo, 5*s*.

II. **Physics and Politics**; or, Thoughts on the Application of the Principles of "Natural Selection" and "Inheritance" to Political Society. By Walter Bagehot. Sixth Edition. Crown 8vo, 4*s*.

III. **Foods**. By Edward Smith, M.D., LL.B., F.R.S. With numerous Illustrations. Seventh Edition. Crown 8vo, 5*s*.

IV. **Mind and Body**: the Theories of their Relation. By Alexander Bain, LL.D. With Four Illustrations. Seventh Edition. Crown 8vo, 4*s*.

V. **The Study of Sociology**. By Herbert Spencer. Tenth Edition. Crown 8vo, 5*s*.

VI. **On the Conservation of Energy**. By Balfour Stewart, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S. With 14 Illustrations. Sixth Edition. Crown 8vo, 5*s*.

VII. **Animal Locomotion**; or Walking, Swimming, and Flying. By J. B. Pettigrew, M.D., F.R.S., etc. With 130 Illustrations. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 5*s*.

VIII. **Responsibility in Mental Disease**. By Henry Maudsley, M.D. Fourth Edition. Crown 8vo, 5*s*.

IX. **The New Chemistry**. By Professor J. P. Cooke. With 31 Illustrations. Sixth Edition. Crown 8vo, 5*s*.

X. **The Science of Law**. By Professor Sheldon Amos. Fifth Edition. Crown 8vo, 5*s*.

XI. **Animal Mechanism**: a Treatise on Terrestrial and Aerial Locomotion. By Professor E. J. Marey. With 117 Illustrations. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 5*s*.

XII. **The Doctrine of Descent and Darwinism**. By Professor Oscar Schmidt. With 26 Illustrations. Fifth Edition. Crown 8vo, 5*s*.

XIII. **The History of the Conflict between Religion and Science**. By J. W. Draper, M.D., LL.D. Seventeenth Edition. Crown 8vo, 5*s*.

XIV. **Fungi**: their Nature, Influences, Uses, etc. By M. C. Cooke, M.D., LL.D. Edited by the Rev. M. J. Berkeley, M.A., F.L.S. With numerous Illustrations. Third Edition. Crown 8vo, 5*s*.

XV. **The Chemical Effects of Light and Photography**. By Dr. Hermann Vogel. Translation thoroughly revised. With 100 Illustrations. Third Edition. Crown 8vo, 5*s*.

XVI. **The Life and Growth of Language**. By Professor William Dwight Whitney. Third Edition. Crown 8vo, 5*s*.

XVII. **Money and the Mechanism of Exchange.** By W. Stanley Jevons, M.A., F.R.S. Fifth Edition. Crown 8vo, 5*s*.

XVIII. **The Nature of Light.** With a General Account of Physical Optics. By Dr. Eugene Lommel. With 188 Illustrations and a Table of Spectra in Chromo-lithography. Third Edition. Crown 8vo, 5*s*.

XIX. **Animal Parasites and Messmates.** By Monsieur Van Beneden. With 83 Illustrations. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 5*s*.

XX. **Fermentation.** By Professor Schützenberger. With 28 Illustrations. Third Edition. Crown 8vo, 5*s*.

XXI. **The Five Senses of Man.** By Professor Bernstein. With 91 Illustrations. Third Edition. Crown 8vo, 5*s*.

XXII. **The Theory of Sound in its Relation to Music.** By Professor Pietro Blaserna. With numerous Illustrations. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 5*s*.

XXIII. **Studies in Spectrum Analysis.** By J. Norman Lockyer, F.R.S. With six photographic Illustrations of Spectra, and numerous engravings on Wood. Crown 8vo. Second Edition. 6*s*. 6*d*.

XXIV. **A History of the Growth of the Steam Engine.** By Professor R. H. Thurston. With numerous Illustrations. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 6*s*. 6*d*.

XXV. **Education as a Science.** By Alexander Bain, LL.D. Fourth Edition. Crown 8vo, 5*s*.

XXVI. **The Human Species.** By Professor A. de Quatrefages. Third Edition. Crown 8vo, 5*s*.

XXVII. **Modern Chromatics.** With Applications to Art and Industry. By Ogden N. Rood. With 130 original Illustrations. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 5*s*.

XXVIII. **The Crayfish:** an Introduction to the Study of Zoology. By Professor T. H. Huxley. With 82 Illustrations. Third Edition. Crown 8vo, 5*s*.

XXIX. **The Brain as an Organ of Mind.** By H. Charlton Bastian, M.D. With numerous Illustrations. Third Edition. Crown 8vo, 5*s*.

XXX. **The Atomic Theory.** By Prof. Wurtz. Translated by G. Cleminshaw, F.C.S. Third Edition. Crown 8vo, 5*s*.

XXXI. **The Natural Conditions of Existence as they affect Animal Life.** By Karl Semper. With 2 Maps and 106 Woodcuts. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 5*s*.

XXXII. **General Physiology of Muscles and Nerves.** By Prof. J. Rosenthal. Second Edition. With Illustrations. Crown 8vo, 5*s*.

XXXIII. **Sight**: an Exposition of the Principles of Monocular and Binocular Vision. By Joseph le Conte, LL.D. With 132 Illustrations. Crown 8vo, 5*s*.

XXXIV. **Illusions**: a Psychological Study. By James Sully. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 5*s*.

XXXV. **Volcanoes**: what they are and what they teach. By Professor J. W. Judd, F.R.S. With 92 Illustrations on Wood. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 5*s*.

XXXVI. **Suicide**: an Essay in Comparative Moral Statistics. By Prof. E. Morselli. With Diagrams. Crown 8vo, 5*s*.

XXXVII. **The Brain and its Functions.** By J. Luys. With Illustrations. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 5*s*.

XXXVIII. **Myth and Science**: an Essay. By Tito Vignoli. Crown 8vo, 5*s*.

XXXIX. **The Sun.** By Professor Young. With Illustrations. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 5*s*.

XL. **Ants, Bees, and Wasps**: a Record of Observations on the Habits of the Social Hymenoptera. By Sir John Lubbock, Bart., M.P. With 5 Chromo-lithographic Illustrations. Fifth Edition. Crown 8vo, 5*s*.

XLI. **Animal Intelligence.** By G. J. Romanes, LL.D., F.R.S. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 5*s*.

XLII. **The Concepts and Theories of Modern Physics.** By J. B. Stallo. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 5*s*.

XLIII. **Diseases of the Memory**; An Essay in the Positive Psychology. By Prof. Th. Ribot. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, cloth, 5*s*.

XLIV. **Man before Metals.** By N. Joly, with 148 Illustrations. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 5*s*.

XLV. **The Science of Politics.** By Prof. Sheldon Amos. Crown 8vo, cloth, 5*s*.

MILITARY WORKS.

Army of the North German Confederation: a Brief Description of its Organisation, of the Different Branches of the Service and their *rôle* in War, of its Mode of Fighting, etc. Translated from the Corrected Edition, by permission of the Author, by Colonel Edward Newdigate. Demy 8vo, 5*s*.

BARRINGTON, Capt. J. T.—**England on the Defensive**; or, the Problem of Invasion Critically Examined. Large crown 8vo, with Map, 7*s*. 6*d*.

BLUME, Major W.—**The Operations of the German Armies in France,** from Sedan to the end of the War of 1870–71. With Map. From the Journals of the Head-quarters Staff. Translated by the late E. M. Jones, Maj. 20th Foot, Prof. of Mil. Hist., Sandhurst. Demy 8vo, 9*s.*

BOGUSLAWSKI, Capt. A. von.—**Tactical Deductions from the War of 1870–1.** Translated by Colonel Sir Lumley Graham, Bart., late 18th (Royal Irish) Regiment. Third Edition, Revised and Corrected. Demy 8vo, 7*s.*

BRACKENBURY, Col. C. B., R.A., C.B.—**Military Handbooks for Regimental Officers.** I. Military Sketching and Reconnaissance, by Col. F. J. Hutchison, and Major H. G. MacGregor. Fourth Edition. With 15 Plates. Small 8vo, 6*s.* II. The Elements of Modern Tactics Practically applied to English Formations, by Lieut-Col. Wilkinson Shaw. Fourth Edition. With 25 Plates and Maps. Small crown 8vo, 9*s.*

BRIALMONT, Col. A.—**Hasty Intrenchments.** Translated by Lieut. Charles A. Empson, R.A. With Nine Plates. Demy 8vo, 6*s.*

CLERY, C., Lieut.-Col.—**Minor Tactics.** With 26 Maps and Plans. Fifth and revised Edition. Demy 8vo, 16*s.*

DU VERNOIS, Col. von Verdy.—**Studies in Leading Troops.** An authorised and accurate Translation by Lieutenant H. J. T. Hildyard, 71st Foot. Parts I. and II. Demy 8vo, 7*s.*

GOETZE, Capt. A. von.—**Operations of the German Engineers during the War of 1870–1.** Published by Authority, and in accordance with Official Documents. Translated from the German by Colonel G. Graham, V.C., C.B., R.E. With 6 large Maps. Demy 8vo, 21*s.*

HARRISON, Lieut.-Col. R.—**The Officer's Memorandum Book for Peace and War.** Third Edition. Oblong 32mo, roan, with pencil, 3*s.* 6*d.*

HELVIG, Capt. H.—**The Operations of the Bavarian Army Corps.** Translated by Captain G. S. Schwabe. With 5 large Maps. In 2 vols. Demy 8vo, 24*s.*

Tactical Examples: Vol. I. The Battalion, 15*s.* Vol. II. The Regiment and Brigade, 10*s.* 6*d.* Translated from the German by Col. Sir Lumley Graham. With nearly 300 Diagrams. Demy 8vo.

HOFFBAUER, Capt.—**The German Artillery in the Battles near Metz.** Based on the Official Reports of the German Artillery. Translated by Captain E. O. Hollist. With Map and Plans. Demy 8vo, 21*s.*

LAYMANN, Capt.—**The Frontal Attack of Infantry.** Translated by Colonel Edward Newdigate. Crown 8vo, 2*s.* 6*d.*

Notes on Cavalry Tactics, Organisation, etc. By a Cavalry Officer. With Diagrams. Demy 8vo, 12*s.*

PARR, Capt. H. Hallam, C.M.G.—**The Dress, Horses, and Equipment of Infantry and Staff Officers.** Crown 8vo, 1*s.*

SCHAW, Col. H.—**The Defence and Attack of Positions and Localities.** Second Edition, revised and corrected. Crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

SCHELL, Maj. von.—**The Operations of the First Army under Gen. von Goeben.** Translated by Col. C. H. von Wright. Four Maps. Demy 8vo, 9*s.*

The Operations of the First Army under Gen. von Steinmetz. Translated by Captain E. O. Hollist. Demy 8vo, 10*s.* 6*d.*

SCHELLENDORF, Major-Gen. B. von.—**The Duties of the General Staff.** Translated from the German by Lieutenant Hare. Vol. I. Demy 8vo, 10*s.* 6*d.*

SCHERFF, Maj. W. von.—**Studies in the New Infantry Tactics.** Parts I. and II. Translated from the German by Colonel Lumley Graham. Demy 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.*

SHADWELL, Maj.-Gen., C.B.—**Mountain Warfare.** Illustrated by the Campaign of 1799 in Switzerland. Being a Translation of the Swiss Narrative compiled from the Works of the Archduke Charles, Jomini, and others. Also of Notes by General H. Dufour on the Campaign of the Valtelline in 1635. With Appendix, Maps, and Introductory Remarks. Demy 8vo, 16*s.*

SHERMAN, Gen. W. T.—**Memoirs of General W. T. Sherman,** Commander of the Federal Forces in the American Civil War. By Himself. 2 vols. With Map. Demy 8vo, 24*s.* *Copyright English Edition.*

STUBBS, Lieut.-Col. F. W.—**The Regiment of Bengal Artillery.** The History of its Organisation, Equipment, and War Services. Compiled from Published Works, Official Records, and various Private Sources. With numerous Maps and Illustrations. 2 vols. Demy 8vo, 32*s.*

STUMM, Lieut. Hugo.—**Russia's Advance Eastward.** Based on Official Reports. Translated by Capt. C. E. H. VINCENT. With Map. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

VINCENT, Capt. C. E. H.—**Elementary Military Geography, Reconnoitring, and Sketching.** Compiled for Non-commissioned Officers and Soldiers of all Arms. Square crown 8vo, 2*s.* 6*d.*

Volunteer, the Militiaman, and the Regular Soldier. By a Public Schoolboy. Crown 8vo, 5*s.*

WARTENSLEBEN, Count H. von.—**The Operations of the South Army in January and February, 1871.** Compiled from the Official War Documents of the Head-quarters of the Southern Army. Translated by Colonel C. H. von Wright. With Maps. Demy 8vo, 6*s.*

WARTENSLEBEN, Count H. von.—continued.

The Operations of the First Army under Gen. von Manteufel. Translated by Col. C. H. von Wright. Uniform with the above. Demy 8vo, 9*s.*

WICKHAM, Capt. E. H., R.A.—Influence of Firearms upon Tactics: Historical and Critical Investigations. By an OFFICER OF SUPERIOR RANK (in the German Army). Translated by Captain E. H. Wickham, R.A. Demy 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.*

WOINOVITS, Capt. I.—Austrian Cavalry Exercise. Translated by Captain W. S. Cooke. Crown 8vo, 7*s.*

POETRY.

ADAMS, W. D.—Lyrics of Love, from Shakspeare to Tennyson. Selected and arranged by. Fcap. 8vo, extra, gilt edges, 3*s.* 6*d.*

ADAM OF ST. VICTOR.—The Liturgical Poetry of Adam of St. Victor. From the text of Gautier. With Translations into English in the Original Metres, and Short Explanatory Notes, by Digby S. Wrangham, M.A. 3 vols. Crown 8vo, printed on hand-made paper, boards, 21*s.*

Antiope: a Tragedy. Large crown 8vo, 6*s.*

AUBERTIN, J. J.—Camoens' Lusiads. Portuguese Text, with Translation. Map and Portraits. 2 vols. Demy 8vo, 30*s.*

Seventy Sonnets of Camoens. Portuguese Text and Translation, with some original Poems. Dedicated to Capt. Richard F. Burton. Printed on hand-made paper, bevelled boards, gilt top, 7*s.* 6*d.*

AUCHMUTY, A. C.—Poems of English Heroism: From Brunanburh to Lucknow; from Athelstan to Albert. Small crown 8vo, 1*s.* 6*d.*

AVIA.—The Odyssey of Homer. Done into English Verse by. Fcap. 4to, 15*s.*

BANKS, Mrs. G. L.—Ripples and Breakers: Poems. Square 8vo, 5*s.*

BARNES, William.—Poems of Rural Life, in the Dorset Dialect. New Edition, complete in one vol. Crown 8vo, 8*s.* 6*d.*

BAYNES, Rev. Canon H. R.—Home Songs for Quiet Hours. Fourth and cheaper Edition. Fcap. 8vo, cloth, 2*s.* 6*d.*

*** This may also be had handsomely bound in morocco with gilt edges.

BENNETT, Dr. W. C.—Narrative Poems and Ballads. Fcap. 8vo, sewed in coloured wrapper, 1*s.*

BENNETT, Dr. W. C.—continued.

Songs for Sailors. Dedicated by Special Request to H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh. With Steel Portrait and Illustrations. Crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*
An Edition in Illustrated Paper Covers, 1*s.*

Songs of a Song Writer. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

BEVINGTON, L. S.—**Key Notes.** Small crown 8vo, 5*s.*

BILLSON, C. J.—**The Acharnians of Aristophanes.** Crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

BOWEN, H. C., M.A.—**Simple English Poems.** English Literature for Junior Classes. In Four Parts. Parts I., II., and III., 6*d.* each, and Part IV., 1*s.*

BRYANT, W. C.—**Poems.** Red-line Edition. With 24 Illustrations and Portrait of the Author. Crown 8vo, extra, 7*s.* 6*d.*
A Cheap Edition, with Frontispiece. Small crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

BYRNNE, E. Fairfax.—**Milicent:** a Poem. Small crown 8vo, 6*s.*

Calderon's Dramas: the Wonder-Working Magician—Life is a Dream—the Purgatory of St. Patrick. Translated by Denis Florence MacCarthy. Post 8vo, 10*s.*

Chronicles of Christopher Columbus. A Poem in 12 Cantos. By M. D. C. Small crown 8vo.

CLARKE, Mary Cowden.—**Honey from the Weed.** Verses. Crown 8vo, 7*s.*

COLOMB, Colonel.—**The Cardinal Archbishop:** a Spanish Legend. In 29 Cancions. Small crown 8vo, 5*s.*

CONWAY, Hugh.—**A Life's Idylls.** Small crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

COPPÉE, Francois.—**L'Exilée.** Done into English Verse, with the sanction of the Author, by I. O. L. Crown 8vo, vellum, 5*s.*

David Rizzio, Bothwell, and the Witch Lady. Three Tragedies by the author of "Ginevra," etc. Crown 8vo, cloth, 6*s.*

DAVIE, G. S., M.D.—**The Garden of Fragrance.** Being a complete translation of the Bostán of Sádi from the original Persian into English Verse. Crown 8vo, cloth, 7*s.* 6*d.*

DAVIES, T. Hart.—**Catullus.** Translated into English Verse. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

DE VERE, Aubrey.—**The Foray of Queen Meave,** and other Legends of Ireland's Heroic Age. Small crown 8vo, 5*s.*

Alexander the Great: a Dramatic Poem. Small crown 8vo, 5*s.*

The Legends of St. Patrick, and other Poems. Small crown 8vo, 5*s.*

DE VERE, Aubrey.—continued.

St. Thomas of Canterbury: a Dramatic Poem. Large fcap. 8vo, 5*s.*

Legends of the Saxon Saints. Small crown 8vo, 6*s.*

Antar and Zara: an Eastern Romance. Inisfail, and other Poems, Meditative and Lyrical. Fcap. 8vo, 6*s.*

The Fall of Rora, The Search after Proserpine, and other Poems, Meditative and Lyrical. Fcap. 8vo, 6*s.*

The Infant Bridal, and other Poems. A New and Enlarged Edition. Fcap. 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.*

DILLON, Arthur.—River Songs and other Poems. With 13 autotype Illustrations from designs by Margery May. Fcap. 4to, cloth extra, gilt leaves, 10*s.* 6*d.*

DOBELL, Mrs. Horace.—Ethelstone, Eveline, and other Poems. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

DOBSON, Austin.—Vignettes in Rhyme, and Vers de Société. Third Edition. Fcap. 8vo, 5*s.*

Proverbs in Porcelain. By the Author of "Vignettes in Rhyme." Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

Dorothy: a Country Story in Elegiac Verse. With Preface. Demy 8vo, 5*s.*

DOWDEN, Edward, LL.D.—Poems. Second Edition. Fcap. 8vo, 5*s.*

Shakspere's Sonnets. With Introduction. Large post 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.*

DOWNTON, Rev. H., M.A.—Hymns and Verses. Original and Translated. Small crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

DUGMORE, Rev. Ernest Edward.—From the Mountains of the East: A Quasi-Dramatic Poem on the Story of the Prophet-Soothsayer Balaam. Crown 8vo, cloth, 3*s.* 6*d.*

DUTT, Toru.—A Sheaf Gleaned in French Fields. New Edition, with Portrait. Demy 8vo, 10*s.* 6*d.*

Ancient Ballads and Legends of Hindustan. With an Introductory Memoir by Edmund W. Gosse. Small crown 8vo, printed on hand-made paper, 5*s.*

EDWARDS, Rev. Basil.—Minor Chords; or, Songs for the Suffering: a Volume of Verse. Fcap. 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*; paper, 2*s.* 6*d.*

ELDRYTH, Maud.—Margaret, and other Poems. Small crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

ELLIOTT, Ebenezer, The Corn Law Rhymer.—Poems. Edited by his son, the Rev. Edwin Elliott, of St. John's, Antigua. 2 vols. Crown 8vo, 18*s.*

English Odes. Selected, with a Critical Introduction by EDMUND W. GOSSE, and a miniature frontispiece by Hamo Thornycroft, A.R.A. Elzevir 8vo, limp parchment antique, 6*s.*; vellum, 7*s.* 6*d.*

Epic of Hades, The. By the Author of "Songs of Two Worlds." Thirteenth Edition. Fcap. 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.*

*** Also an Illustrated Edition, with 17 full-page designs in photo-mezzotint by George R. Chapman. 4to, extra, gilt leaves, 25*s.*; and a Large Paper Edition, with Portrait, 10*s.* 6*d.*

EVANS, Anne.—**Poems and Music.** With Memorial Preface by ANN THACKERAY RITCHIE. Large crown 8vo, 7*s.*

GOSSE, Edmund W.—**New Poems.** Crown 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.*

GROTE, A. R.—**Rip van Winkle:** a Sun Myth; and other Poems. Small crown 8vo, printed on hand-made paper, limp parchment antique, 5*s.*

GURNEY, Rev. Alfred.—**The Vision of the Eucharist,** and other Poems. Crown 8vo, 5*s.*

Gwen: a Drama in Monologue. By the Author of the "Epic of Hades." Third Edition. Fcap. 8vo, 5*s.*

HAWKER, Robt. Stephen.—**The Poetical Works of.** Now first collected and arranged. With a Prefatory Notice by J. G. Godwin. With Portrait. Crown 8vo, 12*s.*

HELLON, H. G.—**Daphnis:** a Pastoral Poem. Small crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

HICKEY, E. H.—**A Sculptor,** and other Poems. Small crown 8vo, 5*s.*

HOLMES, E. G. A.—**Poems.** First and Second Series. Fcap. 8vo, 5*s.* each.

Horati Opera. Edited by F. A. CORNISH, Assistant Master at Eton. With a Frontispiece after a design by L. Alma Tadema, etched by Leopold Lowenstam. Parchment Library Edition, 6*s.*; vellum, 7*s.* 6*d.*

INGHAM, Sarson, C. J.—**Cædmon's Vision, and other Poems.** Small crown 8vo, 5*s.*

JENKINS, Rev. Canon.—**The Girdle Legend of Prato.** Small crown 8vo, 2*s.*

Alfonso Petrucci, Cardinal and Conspirator: an Historical Tragedy in Five Acts. Small crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

KING, Mrs. Hamilton.—**The Disciples.** Fourth Edition, with Portrait and Notes. Crown 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.*

Aspromonte and other Poems. Second Edition. Fcap. 8vo, 4*s.* 6*d.*

LANG, A.—XXXII Ballades in Blue China. Elzevir 8vo, parchment, 5*s.*

LEIGH, Arran and Isla.—Bellerophon. Small crown 8vo, 5*s.*

LEIGHTON, Robert.—Records, and other Poems. With Portrait. Small crown 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.*

Living English Poets MDCCCLXXXII. With Frontispiece by Walter Crane. Second Edition. Large crown 8vo. Printed on hand-made paper. Parchment, 12*s.*, vellum, 15*s.*

LOCKER, F.—London Lyrics. A New and Revised Edition, with Additions and a Portrait of the Author. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

*** Also a New and Cheaper Edition. Small crown 8vo, 2*s.* 6*d.*

Love Sonnets of Proteus. With Frontispiece by the Author. Elzevir 8vo, 5*s.*

LOWNDES, Henry.—Poems and Translations. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

LUMSDEN, Lieut.-Col. H. W.—Beowulf: an Old English Poem. Translated into Modern Rhymes. Small crown 8vo, 5*s.*

MACLEAN, Charles Donald.—Latin and Greek Verse Translations. Small crown 8vo, 2*s.*

MAGNUSSON, Eirikr, M.A., and PALMER, E. H., M.A.—Johan Ludvig Runeberg's Lyrical Songs, Idylls, and Epigrams. Fcap. 8vo, 5*s.*

M.D.C.—Chronicles of Christopher Columbus. A Poem in Twelve Cantos. Small Crown 8vo, cloth, 7*s.* 6*d.*

MEREDITH, Owen, The Earl of Lytton.—Lucile. With 160 Illustrations. Crown 4to, extra, gilt leaves, 21*s.*

MIDDLETON, The Lady.—Ballads. Square 16mo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

MOORE, Mrs. Bloomfield.—Gondaline's Lesson: The Warden's Tale, Stories for Children, and other Poems. Crown 8vo, 5*s.*

MORICE, Rev. F. D., M.A.—The Olympian and Pythian Odes of Pindar. A New Translation in English Verse. Crown 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.*

MORRIS, Lewis.—Poetical Works of. New and cheaper Edition, with Portrait. Complete in 3 vols., 5*s.* each.

Vol. I. contains "Songs of Two Worlds." Vol. II. contains "The Epic of Hades." Vol. III. contains "Gwen" and "The Ode of Life."

MORSHEAD, E. D. A.—The House of Atreus. Being the Agamemnon, Libation-Bearers, and Furies of Æschylus. Translated into English Verse. Crown 8vo, 7*s.*

NADEN, Constance W.—Songs and Sonnets of Spring Time. Small crown 8vo, 5*s.*

NEWELL, E. J.—**The Sorrows of Simona and Lyrical Verses.** Small crown 8vo, cloth, 3*s.* 6*d.*

NICHOLSON, Edward B.—**The Christ Child,** and other Poems. Crown 8vo, 4*s.* 6*d.*

NOAKE, Major R. Compton.—**The Bivouac;** or, Martial Lyrist. With an Appendix: Advice to the Soldier. Fcap. 8vo, 5*s.* 6*d.*

NOEL, The Hon. Roden.—**A Little Child's Monument.** Second Edition. Small crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

NORRIS, Rev. Alfred.—**The Inner and Outer Life Poems.** Fcap. 8vo, 6*s.*

Ode of Life, The. By the Author of "The Epic of Hades," etc. Fourth Edition. Crown 8vo, 5*s.*

O'HAGAN, John.—**The Song of Roland.** Translated into English Verse. Large post 8vo, parchment antique, 10*s.* 6*d.*

PAUL, C. Kegan.—**Goethe's Faust.** A New Translation in Rhyme. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

PAYNE, John.—**Songs of Life and Death.** Crown 8vo, 5*s.*

PENNELL, H. Cholmondeley.—**Pegasus Resaddled.** By the Author of "Puck on Pegasus," etc., etc. With 10 Full-page Illustrations by George Du Maurier. Second Edition. Fcap. 4to, elegant, 12*s.* 6*d.*

PFEIFFER, Emily.—**Glan Alarch: His Silence and Song: a Poem.** Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

Gerard's Monument, and other Poems. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

Quarterman's Grace, and other Poems. Crown 8vo, 5*s.*

Poems. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

Sonnets and Songs. New Edition. 16mo, handsomely printed and bound in cloth, gilt edges, 4*s.*

Under the Aspens; Lyrical and Dramatic. With Portrait. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

PIKE, Warburton.—**The Inferno of Dante Allighieri.** Demy 8vo, 5*s.*

POE, Edgar Allan.—**Poems.** With an Essay on his Poetry by ANDREW LANG, and a Frontispiece by Linley Sambourne. Parchment Library Edition, 6*s.*; vellum, 7*s.* 6*d.*

RHOADES, James.—**The Georgics of Virgil.** Translated into English Verse. Small crown 8vo, 5*s.*

ROBINSON, A. Mary F.—**A Handful of Honeysuckle.** Fcap. 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

The Crowned Hippolytus. Translated from Euripides. With New Poems. Small crown 8vo, 5*s.*

SAUNDERS, John.—**Love's Martyrdom.** A Play and Poem. Small crown 8vo, cloth, 5*s.*

Schiller's Mary Stuart. German Text, with English Translation on opposite page by LEEDHAM WHITE. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

Shakspere's Sonnets. Edited by EDWARD DOWDEN. With a Frontispiece etched by Leopold Lowenstam, after the Death Mask. Parchment Library Edition, 6*s.*; vellum, 7*s.* 6*d.*

Shakspere's Works. In 12 Monthly Volumes. Parchment Library Edition, 6*s.* each; vellum, 7*s.* 6*d.* each.

SHAW, W. F., M.A.—**Juvenal, Persius, Martial, and Catullus.** An Experiment in Translation. Crown 8vo, cloth, 5*s.*

SHELLEY, Percy Bysshe.—**Poems Selected from.** Dedicated to Lady Shelley. With Preface by Richard Garnett. Parchment Library Edition, 6*s.*; vellum, 7*s.* 6*d.*

Six Ballads about King Arthur. Crown 8vo, extra, gilt edges, 3*s.* 6*d.*

SKINNER, James.—**Cœlestia.** The Manual of St. Augustine. The Latin Text side by side with an English Interpretation in Thirty-six Odes with Notes, *and* a plea *for the* study *of* Mystical Theology. Large crown 8vo, 6*s.*

SLADEN, Douglas B.—**Frithjof and Ingebjorg, and other Poems.** Small crown 8vo, cloth, 5*s.*

Songs of Two Worlds. By the Author of "The Epic of Hades." Seventh Edition. Complete in One Volume, with Portrait. Fcap. 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.*

Songs for Music. By Four Friends. Containing Songs by Reginald A. Gatty, Stephen H. Gatty, Greville J. Chester, and Juliana Ewing. Square crown 8vo, 5*s.*

STEDMAN, Edmund Clarence.—**Lyrics and Idylls,** with other Poems. Crown 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.*

STEVENS, William.—**The Truce of God,** and other Poems. Small crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

TAYLOR, Sir H.—Works Complete in Five Volumes. Crown 8vo, 30*s.*

TENNYSON, Alfred.—Works Complete:—

The Imperial Library Edition. Complete in 7 vols. Demy 8vo, 10*s.* 6*d.* each; in Roxburgh binding, 12*s.* 6*d.* each.

Author's Edition. In 7 vols. Post 8vo, gilt 43*s.* 6*d.*; or half-morocco, Roxburgh style, 52*s.* 6*d.*

Cabinet Edition. 13 vols. Each with Frontispiece. Fcap. 8vo, 2*s.* 6*d.* each.

Cabinet Edition. 13 vols. Complete in handsome Ornamental Case. 35*s.*

TENNYSON, Alfred.—continued.

The Royal Edition. In 1 vol. With 26 Illustrations and Portrait. Extra, bevelled boards, gilt leaves, 21*s.*

The Guinea Edition. Complete in 13 vols. neatly bound and enclosed in box, 21*s.*; French morocco or parchment, 31*s.* 6*d.*

Shilling Edition. In 13 vols. pocket size, 1*s.* each, sewed.

The Crown Edition. Complete in 1 vol. strongly bound, 6*s.*; extra gilt leaves, 7*s.* 6*d.*; Roxburgh, half-morocco, 8*s.* 6*d.*

*** Can also be had in a variety of other bindings.

In Memoriam. With a Miniature Portrait in *eau-forte* by Le Rat, after a Photograph by the late Mrs. Cameron. Parchment Library Edition, 6*s.*; vellum, 7*s.* 6*d.*

The Princess. A Medley. With a Miniature Frontispiece by H. M. Paget, and a Tailpiece in Outline by Gordon Browne. Parchment Library Edition, 6*s.*; vellum, 7*s.* 6*d.*

Songs Set to Music by various Composers. Edited by W. J. Cusins. Dedicated, by express permission, to Her Majesty the Queen. Royal 4to, extra, gilt leaves, 21*s.*; or in half-morocco, 25*s.*

Original Editions :—

Ballads, and other Poems. Small 8vo, 5*s.*

Poems. Small 8vo, 6*s.*

Maud, and other Poems. Small 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

The Princess. Small 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

Idylls of the King. Small 8vo, 5*s.*

Idylls of the King. Complete. Small 8vo, 6*s.*

The Holy Grail, and other Poems. Small 8vo, 4*s.* 6*d.*

Gareth and Lynette. Small 8vo, 3*s.*

Enoch Arden, etc. Small 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

In Memoriam. Small 8vo, 4*s.*

Harold: a Drama. New Edition. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

Queen Mary: a Drama. New Edition. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

The Lover's Tale. Fcap. 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

Selections from the above Works. Super royal 16mo, 3*s.* 6*d.*; gilt extra, 4*s.*

Songs from the above Works. 16mo, 2*s.* 6*d.*; extra, 3*s.* 6*d.*

Idylls of the King, and other Poems. Illustrated by Julia Margaret Cameron. 2 vols. folio, half-bound morocco, £6 6*s.* each.

Tennyson for the Young and for Recitation. Specially arranged. Fcap. 8vo, 1*s.* 6*d.*

The Tennyson Birthday Book. Edited by Emily Shakespear. 32mo, limp, 2*s.*; extra, 3*s.*

*** A superior Edition, printed in red and black, on antique paper, specially prepared. Small crown 8vo, extra, gilt leaves, 5*s.*; and in various calf and morocco bindings.

Horæ Tennysonianæ sive Eclogæ e Tennysono Latine Redditæ Cura A. J. Church, A.M. Small crown 8vo, 6*s.*

THOMPSON, Alice C.—Preludes: a Volume of Poems. Illustrated by Elizabeth Thompson (Painter of "The Roll Call"). 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.*

TODHUNTER, Dr. J.—Laurella, and other Poems. Crown 8vo, 6*s.* 6*d.*

Forest Songs. Small crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

The True Tragedy of Rienzi: a Drama. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Alcestis: a Dramatic Poem. Extra fcap. 8vo, 5*s.*

A Study of Shelley. Crown 8vo, 7*s.*

Translations from Dante, Petrarch, Michael Angelo, and Vittoria Colonna. Fcap. 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.*

TURNER, Rev. C. Tennyson.—Sonnets, Lyrics, and Translations. Crown 8vo, 4*s.* 6*d.*

Collected Sonnets, Old and New. With Prefatory Poem by ALFRED TENNYSON; also some Marginal Notes by S. T. COLERIDGE, and a Critical Essay by JAMES SPEDDING. Fcap. 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.*

WALTERS, Sophia Lydia.—The Brook: a Poem. Small crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

A Dreamer's Sketch Book. With 21 Illustrations by Percival Skelton, R. P. Leitch, W. H. J. BOOT, and T. R. PRITCHETT. Engraved by J. D. Cooper. Fcap. 4to, 12*s.* 6*d.*

WATERFIELD, W.—Hymns for Holy Days and Seasons. 32mo, 1*s.* 6*d.*

WAY, A., M.A.—The Odes of Horace Literally Translated in Metre. Fcap. 8vo, 2*s.*

WEBSTER, Augusta.—Disguises: a Drama. Small crown 8vo, 5*s.*

In a Day: a Drama. Small crown 8vo, cloth, 2*s.* 6*d.*

Wet Days. By a Farmer. Small crown 8vo, 6*s.*

WILKINS, William.—Songs of Study. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

WILLOUGHBY, The Hon. Mrs.—On the North Wind—Thistledown: a Volume of Poems. Elegantly bound, small crown 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.*

WOODS, James Chapman.—A Child of the People, and other Poems. Small crown 8vo, 5*s.*

YOUNG, Wm.—Gottlob, etcetera. Small crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

YOUNGS, Ella Sharpe.—Paphus, and other Poems. Small crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

WORKS OF FICTION IN ONE VOLUME.

BANKS, Mrs. G. L.—God's Providence House. New Edition. Crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

BETHAM-EDWARDS, Miss M.—Kitty. With a Frontispiece. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

Blue Roses; or, Helen Malinofska's Marriage. By the Author of "Véra." New and Cheaper Edition. With Frontispiece. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

FRISWELL, J. Hain.—One of Two; or, The Left-Handed Bride. Crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

GARRETT, E.—By Still Waters: a Story for Quiet Hours. With 7 Illustrations. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

HARDY, Thomas.—A Pair of Blue Eyes. Author of "Far from the Madding Crowd." New Edition. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

The Return of the Native. New Edition. With Frontispiece. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

HOOPER, Mrs. G.—The House of Raby. Crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

INGELOW, Jean.—Off the Skelligs: a Novel. With Frontispiece. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

MACDONALD, G.—Malcolm. With Portrait of the Author engraved on Steel. Sixth Edition. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

The Marquis of Lossie. Fourth Edition. With Frontispiece. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

St. George and St. Michael. Third Edition. With Frontispiece. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

MASTERMAN, J.—Half-a-Dozen Daughters. Crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

MEREDITH, George.—Ordeal of Richard Feverel. New Edition. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

The Egoist: A Comedy in Narrative. New and Cheaper Edition, with Frontispiece. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

PALGRAVE, W. Gifford.—Hermann Agha; an Eastern Narrative. Third Edition. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

Pandurang Hari; or, Memoirs of a Hindoo. With an Introductory Preface by Sir H. Bartle E. Frere, G.C.S.I., C.B. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

PAUL, Margaret Agnes.—**Gentle and Simple**; a Story. New and Cheaper Edition, with Frontispiece. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

SHAW, Flora L.—**Castle Blair**; a Story of Youthful Lives. New and Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

STRETTON, Hesba.—**Through a Needle's Eye**: a Story. New and Cheaper Edition, with Frontispiece. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

TAYLOR, Col. Meadows, C.S.I., M.R.I.A.—**Seeta**: a Novel. New and Cheaper Edition. With Frontispiece. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

Tippoo Sultaun: a Tale of the Mysore War. New Edition, with Frontispiece. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

Ralph Darnell. New and Cheaper Edition. With Frontispiece. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

A Noble Queen. New and Cheaper Edition. With Frontispiece. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

The Confessions of a Thug. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

Tara; a Mahratta Tale. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

THOMAS, Moy.—**A Fight for Life.** Crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

Within Sound of the Sea. New and Cheaper Edition, with Frontispiece. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

BOOKS FOR THE YOUNG.

Aunt Mary's Bran Pie. By the Author of "St. Olave's." Illustrated. 3*s.* 6*d.*

BARLEE, Ellen.—**Locked Out**: a Tale of the Strike. With a Frontispiece. Royal 16mo, 1*s.* 6*d.*

BONWICK, J., F.R.G.S.—**The Tasmanian Lily.** With Frontispiece. Crown 8vo, 5*s.*

Mike Howe, the Bushranger of Van Diemen's Land. New and Cheaper Edition. With Frontispiece. Crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

Brave Men's Footsteps. A Book of Example and Anecdote for Young People. By the Editor of "Men who have Risen." With 4 Illustrations by C. Doyle. Seventh Edition. Crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

Children's Toys, and some Elementary Lessons in General Knowledge which they teach. Illustrated. Crown 8vo, 5*s.*

COLERIDGE, Sara.—**Pretty Lessons in Verse for Good Children**, with some Lessons in Latin, in Easy Rhyme. A New Edition. Illustrated. Fcap. 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

COXHEAD, Ethel.—**Birds and Babies.** Imp. 16mo. With 33 Illustrations. Cloth gilt, 2*s.* 6*d.*

D'ANVERS, N. R.—**Little Minnie's Troubles:** an Every-day Chronicle. With 4 Illustrations by W. H. Hughes. Fcap. 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

Parted: a Tale of Clouds and Sunshine. With 4 Illustrations. Extra fcap. 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

Pixie's Adventures; or, the Tale of a Terrier. With 21 Illustrations. 16mo, 4*s.* 6*d.*

Nanny's Adventures: or, the Tale of a Goat. With 12 Illustrations. 16mo, 4*s.* 6*d.*

DAVIES, G. Christopher.—**Rambles and Adventures of our School Field Club.** With 4 Illustrations. New and Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

DRUMMOND, Miss.—**Tripp's Buildings.** A Study from Life, with Frontispiece. Small crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

EDMONDS, Herbert.—**Well Spent Lives:** a Series of Modern Biographies. New and Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

EVANS, Mark.—**The Story of our Father's Love,** told to Children. Fourth and Cheaper Edition of Theology for Children. With 4 Illustrations. Fcap. 8vo, 1*s.* 6*d.*

FARQUHARSON, M.

I. **Elsie Dinsmore.** Crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

II. **Elsie's Girlhood.** Crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

III. **Elsie's Holidays at Roselands.** Crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

HERFORD, Brooke.—**The Story of Religion in England:** a Book for Young Folk. Crown 8vo, 5*s.*

INGELOW, Jean.—**The Little Wonder-horn.** With 15 Illustrations. Small 8vo, 2*s.* 6*d.*

JOHNSON, Virginia W.—**The Catskill Fairies.** Illustrated by ALFRED FREDERICKS. 5*s.*

KER, David.—**The Boy Slave in Bokhara:** a Tale of Central Asia. With Illustrations. New and Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

The Wild Horseman of the Pampas. Illustrated. New and Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

LAMONT, Martha MacDonald.—**The Gladiator:** a Life under the Roman Empire in the beginning of the Third Century. With 4 Illustrations by H. M. Paget. Extra fcap. 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

LEANDER, Richard.—**Fantastic Stories.** Translated from the German by Paulina B. Granville. With 8 Full-page Illustrations by M. E. Fraser-Tytler. Crown 8vo, 5*s.*

LEE, Holme.—**Her Title of Honour.** A Book for Girls. New Edition. With a Frontispiece. Crown 8vo, 5*s.*

LEWIS, Mary A.—**A Rat with Three Tales.** New and Cheaper Edition. With 4 Illustrations by Catherine F. Frere. 3*s.* 6*d.*

MAC KENNA, S. J.—**Plucky Fellows.** A Book for Boys. With 6 Illustrations. Fifth Edition. Crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

At School with an Old Dragoon. With 6 Illustrations. New and Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

Mc CLINTOCK, L.—**Sir Spangle and the Dingy Hen.** Illustrated. Square crown 8vo, 2*s.* 6*d.*

MALDEN, H. E.—**Princes and Princesses: Two Fairy Tales.** Illustrated. Small crown 8vo, 2*s.* 6*d.*

Master Bobby. By the Author of "Christina North." With 6 Illustrations. Fcap. 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

NAAKE, J. T.—**Slavonic Fairy Tales.** From Russian, Servian, Polish, and Bohemian Sources. With 4 Illustrations. Crown 8vo, 5*s.*

PELLETAN, E.—**The Desert Pastor, Jean Jarousseau.** Translated from the French. By Colonel E. P. De L'Hoste. With a Frontispiece. New Edition. Fcap. 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

REANEY, Mrs. G. S.—**Waking and Working; or, From Girlhood to Womanhood.** New and Cheaper Edition. With a Frontispiece. Crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

Blessing and Blessed: a Sketch of Girl Life. New and Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

Rose Gurney's Discovery. A Book for Girls. Dedicated to their Mothers. Crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

English Girls: Their Place and Power. With Preface by the Rev. R. W. Dale. Third Edition. Fcap. 8vo, 2*s.* 6*d.*

Just Anyone, and other Stories. Three Illustrations. Royal 16mo, 1*s.* 6*d.*

Sunbeam Willie, and other Stories. Three Illustrations. Royal 16mo, 1*s.* 6*d.*

Sunshine Jenny, and other Stories. Three Illustrations. Royal 16mo, 1*s.* 6*d.*

ROSS, Mrs. E. ("Nelsie Brook")—**Daddy's Pet.** A Sketch from Humble Life. With 6 Illustrations. Royal 16mo, 1*s.*

SADLER, S. W., R.N.—**The African Cruiser: a Midshipman's Adventures on the West Coast.** With 3 Illustrations. New and Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo, 2*s.* 6*d.*

Seeking his Fortune, and other Stories. With 4 Illustrations. New and Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo, 2*s.* 6*d.*

Seven Autumn Leaves from Fairy Land. Illustrated with 9 Etchings. Square crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

STOCKTON, Frank R.—**A Jolly Fellowship.** With 20 Illustrations. Crown 8vo, 5*s.*

STORR, Francis, and TURNER, Hawes.—**Canterbury Chimes**; or, Chaucer Tales retold to Children. With 6 Illustrations from the Ellesmere MS. Second Edition. Fcap. 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

STRETTON, Hesba.—**David Lloyd's Last Will.** With 4 Illustrations. New Edition. Royal 16mo, 2*s.* 6*d.*

The Wonderful Life. Sixteenth Thousand. Fcap. 8vo, 2*s.* 6*d.*

Sunnyland Stories. By the Author of "Aunt Mary's Bran Pie." Illustrated. Second Edition. Small 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

Tales from Ariosto Re-told for Children. By a Lady. With 3 Illustrations. Crown 8vo, 4*s.* 6*d.*

WHITAKER, Florence.—**Christy's Inheritance.** A London Story. Illustrated. Royal 16mo, 1*s.* 6*d.*

ZIMMERN, H.—**Stories in Precious Stones.** With 6 Illustrations. Third Edition. Crown 8vo, 5*s.*

PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, LIMITED, LONDON AND BECCLES.

Uniates. Eastern Xns in external communion with the See of Rome: some being seceders from the orthodox Eastern Churches, and others fr: the Nestorian and Jacobite communities.

Jacobites The name by wh: the adherents of the Monophysite heresy have been known since the 6th Centy. — Some Jacobite writers trace the origen of the name to James brother of our Lord: others to Dioscorus whose name was James before he became Patriarch of Alexandria — More probably to Jacobus Beradæus a Syrian Monk who was Bishop of Edessa, about a centy after the rise of the sect A.D. 541 — 578. and the greatest propagator of its distinctive principles in Syria and Egypt —

Uniates The division in the Eastern Church continued in full force from A.D. 1596 until the partition of Poland in 1772. At that time between 2 & 3 millions of the Uniates renounced their allegiance to Rome and returned to full communion with the Orthodox Eastern Church — In 1839 2 millions more were reconciled — There are still about 300,000 in Russia and 3 mills in Austria

414 **PALMER** (William, *Fellow of Magd. Coll., Oxon.*) INTRODUCTION to EARLY CHRISTIAN SYMBOLISM: Compositions from Fresco-Paintings, Glasses, and Sculptured Sarcophagi selected and described; edited with Notes by J. SPENCER NORTHCOTE, D.D., and W. R. BROWNLOW, R. C. Bishop of Clifton, *with* 19 *large* COLOURED PLATES *and woodcuts*, folio, *hf. red morocco gilt, cl. sides, uncut, t. e. g.*, £4. 4*s* 1885

This valuable book was the posthumous work of 'Palmer of Magdalen', brother of Lord Selborne, who after many rebuffs from the Holy Synod of the Russian Church was received into that of Rome in 1855.